Daily Report

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Grand National Assembly Meets To Form Government

Zhelev Proposes Lukanov for Prime Minister

AU3008130990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1250 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Speech by President Zhelyu Zhelev at the session of the Grand National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[Text] Mr. Chairman, gentlemen people's deputies, ladies and gentlemen:

Under the powers granted to me by Article 92, paragraph 3, of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, during the past week wide consultations have been conducted with the political parties, organizations, and individuals with a view to selecting a suitable candidate for the post of prime minister, whom I am to propose to the Grand National Assembly.

During the consultations, the almost unanimous view was reached that at the present stage the government should be headed by Mr. Andrey Lukanov. [applause] He possesses the qualities for this post. In addition to this, one should point out the usual parliamentary practice which requires that the formation of the government should in the first place be entrusted to the largest faction in parliament. Since this faction is the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], this choice was predecided to a certain extent on the basis of constitutional and parliamentary principles.

This is why I propose to the Grand National Assembly that it should instruct Mr. Andrey Lukanov to submit a proposal for the membership of a new Council of Ministers.

Thank-you for your attention.

Lukanov Accepts Mandate

AU3008134790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1252 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Speech by Andrey Lukanov accepting President Zhelyu Zhelev's proposal to form a new government at the 29th session of the Seventh Grand National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed Mr. Chairman, esteemed ladies and gentlemen people's representatives:

I would like to express my cordial gratitude to the chairman of the Republic for his proposal and for the task entrusted to me of making the necessary efforts and forming the government, something the Grand National Assembly and the people desire very much. This must be a strong and authoritative government.

I accept this mandate with gratitude and I am ready to assume the task of making conscientious and intensive efforts to achieve a positive result that will satisfy all political forces in the Grand National Assembly.

I do not think that anyone has any doubts about the unprecedented responsibility that the new government will face. This responsibility is related to conducting deep political and economic reforms in Bulgaria in close cooperation and under the leadership of the Grand National Assembly, and together with the Presidency. This responsibility is related to overcoming difficulties that our nation has not experienced in recent decades. I think that this responsibility could be accepted and implemented if two exceptionally important preconditions are fulfilled: first, the existence of broad public support for the efforts of the executive power and parliamentary consensus on the basic direction of the imminent reforms in politics and in the government's program. Second, having a government with an authoritative and competent composition, regardless of what part of the Bulgarian political spectrum its members come.

It is not very important what this government will be called—a government of national unity, national responsibility, national responsibility and confidence, and so forth. Different variants have been proposed by various factions in recent weeks. The important thing is that this government becomes the expresser of the will, interests, and priorities of all Bulgarian people, or at least of the Bulgarian people's majority. It is important that the government inspire international confidence, enjoy the support of our partners abroad, convince them that it intends to conduct radical and swift reforms, defend public order by legal means, and struggle for stability and tranquility in the country.

With such an understanding, Mr. Chairman of the Republic, I accept the mandate you propose to entrust me with, and I would like to rely on the comprehensive support of all political forces represented in the Grand National Assembly in implementing your mandate.

Thank-you very much. [applause]

Further on New Government

AU3008155890 Sofia BTA in English 1538 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, August 30 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev invited Andrey Lukanov to form the new government.

Andrey Lukanov accepted the task to form "a strong and responsible" government. He stressed immediately on the great responsibility which the new government will have for carrying the profound political and economic reforms. This responsibility can be assumed with the help of broad social support to the executive power, a parliamentary consensus and prestigious composition of the government. It is important that this government should have the confidence of foreign partners, Lukanov said.

BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], the party with parliamentary majority raised Lukanov's candidature. He was chairman of the single-party socialist government composed in February this year. The cabinet was bitterly criticized by the opposition for impeding the economic reform.

Andrey Lukanov like other leaders of the Socialist Party, appealed many a time for a coalition, while the Union of Democratic Forces is of the opinion that the BSP which

won the elections should compose the government. At the consultations held by the president, the major political forces confirmed their positions.

Cabinet in 'Five to Six Days'

AU3008201590 Sofia BTA in English 1935 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, August 30 (BTA)—Andrey Lukanov, leader of the government, which has been interim for a week, was asked to form the new government. He was assigned this task by the Grand National Assembly today. Andrey Lukanov was proposed by President Zhelyu Zhelev. He said that in his choice he observed the habitual parliamentary practice that the forming of the government should be assigned to the most numerous faction which, in this case are the Socialists. This candidature was considered also in his consultations with political parties, organizations and individual persons.

Andrey Lukanov sees his cabinet as consisting of a prestigious and competent government, irrespective of the fact which are the political forces that form it and how is it going to be called, one that will enjoy international confidence and support and will struggle for stability and calm. According to him this cabinet should be formed in a period of five to six days. This is imperative due to the situation in this country, particularly so after the August 26 events.

Assuming this task, Andrey Lukanov pointed at the unprecedented responsibilities facing the future government and related with the deep political and economic reforms and with the overcoming of the crisis. He said he could deal with it if the executive power receives a broad social support and a parliamentary consensus on the major issues of the forthcoming reforms related to policy and the government program.

According to him the consultations on the composition of the government and the program should be made parallel and the government formation should not await the working of the program. Andrey Lukanov told a BTA reporter that he sees real possibilities that the program should be presented in parliament by the end of September.

He sees as an inevitable problem for the future government the unpopular measures which it would have to adopt.

The chairman of the Commission on the Economic Policy Ivan Kostov from the opposition said that the economic reforms and the transition to a market economy are impossible if the present structure of the bodies of state control are preserved. According to the commission program it should take a stand on the new structure of the state bodies and the future ministers in the economic ministries.

Podkrepa's Trenchev Rejects Charges of Arson

AU3008180190 Sofia BTA in English 1617 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 30 Aug (BTA)—According to Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, if urgent measures are not taken in the economy, the fire in the party home can turn to be a preamble to serious social disturbances.

The retort for which the Podkrepa Labour Confederation President Dr. Trenchev was accused as inspirer of the fire in the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] party home, was taken out of context, as he himself said at the press conference convened specially in relation with that. According to him this is yet another attempt made to discredit Podkrepa.

Dr. Trenchev told in detail about his behaviour in the night of August 26, about his numerous attempts to prevent vandalism. He accused the security forces and the fire-protection forces of being passive, and said he had a film showing that. Podkrepa has opened a reception office and founded a commission to deal with the research of the events of August 26.

According to Dr. Trenchev the consequences under which the party home of the Socialists burned are dubious. He and the confederation insist for the truth to be revealed. The president of Podkrepa urged for an international expertise on the fire. According to him this is what the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] will demand, too.

The SDS Coordination Council at its meeting today declared that it takes all kind of suspicion off Dr. Trenchev until his guilt is proven by the legal enquiry, as it was said at the press conference. Podkrepa remains member of the SDS, as its president said.

Dr. Trenchev rejected allegations that there have been attempts on his life. He is still moving freely in the streets. He never had and does not intend to have body-guards.

Podkrepa Declaration Against Arson Criticized

AU3008171790 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 30 Aug 90 p 1

[Kiril Stoychev article: "Trade Unionism Is Not a Storm of Hypocrisy"]

[Text] Only hours after the entire Bulgarian public, including the political forces most strongly confronting the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], had condemned the vandalistic burning of the BSP headquarters in Sofia, the "Podkrepa" Labor Confederation hastened to issue its own declaration. The duplicity of this text and its compilers is evident from every word, from every expression. "The 'Podkrepa' Labor Confederation," states the declaration, "supported in the past and continues to support all possible efforts to restrain self-motivated voluntary actions of protest in the conditions of the as yet unaltered legislation in force in the country." I would

have believed these words in the declaration if I did not know that Dr. Konstantin Trenchev is still the chairman of the "Podkrepa" Labor Confederation—the man who, on the evening of 26 August, called upon the wild hooligans to storm the party's building if the BSP failed to take account of his ultimatum. I would also have believed the next sentence in the declaration: "The 'Podkrepa' Labor Confederation appeals to all political parties and public organizations, as well as to the citizens of Bulgaria, to preserve calm in these difficult hours for the country." Yes, I would have believed this, if the same declaration did not describe the disbanding of the Towns of Truth as their "routing," if the vandalistic burning of the party building was not characterized as "a well prepared provocation with the aim of striking a blow against the structures of the democratic forces."

The question naturally arises: When does President Dr. Konstantin Trenchev say the truth? When he signs public declarations on behalf of the confederation, or when he uses his immunity as a trade union confederation leader for advertisement at street rallies? It is evident that the people in "Podkrepa" will be providing their own answer to this question. However, I will permit myself to remind the "Podkrepa" members and leaders of an old truth: Whenever hypocrisy assaults public events, concealed behind the mask of trade unionism, it is always doomed to shameful failure. Nonetheless, tens and thousands of honest working Bulgarians believe in the trade unionist essence of the "Podkrepa" Confederation.

BSP, Young Socialists Hold Protests in Plovdiv

AU3008153990 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 29 Aug 90 p 3

[Neli Popova report]

[Text] On 27 August, following the vandalistic act of the burning of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] headquarters in Sofia, our editorial offices received a ceaseless stream of telegrams, declarations, and appeals, all with one and the same main theme: emphatic condemnation of the perpetrators and instigators of this outrage.

However, among the many expressions of disgust and shock, the report received from the BTA correspondent in Plovdiv made a particular impression. Valentin Delov announced that in the early morning of Monday 27 August the local council against use of violence held a meeting with the leaders of the political forces in Plovdiv. The meeting discussed the proposal of the Plovdiv BSP Municipal Council to hold an all-city rally, and Delov reported that this idea was rejected by the other participants in the meeting on the grounds that any rallies or demonstrations at this moment would exacerbate the already strained situation. Despite this, a BSP rally was called that same evening. Delov's report also cites a declaration by the Plovdiv Socialist Youth Club which, according to the correspondent, made direct accusations against the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] as the author of a "staged spectacle," and insisted that the SDS should accept the entire responsibility for this terrorist act.

The declaration ended with an ultimatum that, if the demands were not fulfilled, the youth organization of the Plovdiv Socialists would not assume political responsibility for the actions of its members and sympathizers.

See here, young gentlemen Socialists, for decades on end we have been hearing assurances about your fanatical Komsomol impetuosity. Accordingly, these threatening words are unlikely to surprise anybody. Are you then assuring us that you will respond to the act described by you as "neofascism" in the same coin? Need we remind you of Germany's history a little more than 50 years ago? Then too, the Young (National) Socialists carried out quite a lot of the "work" of forces which led the world to a terrible catastrophe. We are aware of your ambitious aims, but do you yourselves realize where they are leading...?!

Defense Ministry Appeal for Calm in Military

AU3008190590 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Aug 90 p 1

[Communique addressed "to the personnel of the Bulgarian People's Army"; date not given]

[Text] Comrade soldiers, sergeants, officers, generals, and admirals; comrade military employees and workers:

Today the entire nation is directing its efforts to implementing a peaceful transition to democracy.

From 10 November 1989, to the elections for a Grand National Assembly, society completed a big step in this direction, without allowing gross violations of public order or of citizens' rights and freedoms. However, the vandalistic act committed in the center of Sofia on 26 August 1990 poses the threat that events may take an undesirable turn in their development, get out of control, and bring the country face to face with the risk of disorder, chaos, and civil war.

Today, it is especially necessary to preserve calm in all the units and sections of the Army, for the personnel not to yield to provocations, and for reason to prevail over emotions.

At this serious and tense moment, as was emphasized in the appeal of the chairman (president) of the Republic of 27 August 1990, "Democracy is responsibility, not revenge. In the name of the people we will never permit anyone to stain the people's virtue nor to lower them in the eyes of the civilized world." In this situation, an immense responsibility also lies on the shoulders of the servicemen of the Bulgarian People's Army [BNA], as a supraparty institution of nationwide importance. No form of political partiality whatsoever must be permitted among the troops, partiality which may disunite the soldiers' collectives and promote confrontation between them.

It is necessary to sharply increase responsibility and alertness, and to strengthen the discipline of the command staff

and the other ranks. The units and sections must continue to effectively carry out the training process, maintain combat readiness, and carry out current tasks.

For us, the soldiers of the BNA, there is not, and cannot be, either today or in the future, any higher aim and meaning for our labor than the strengthening of our unity and increasing the Army's combat readiness in the name of the future democratic prosperity of the fatherland.

Issued by the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense.

President Zhelev Talks With TU Leader Krustev

AU3008170890 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 29 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] On 28 August, on his own initiative, President of the Republic Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev held a meeting with Professor Krustyu Krustev, chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria. The meeting was connected with the consultations which the head of state is holding on forming a new government. The central topic of the talks was the ability of the future government to implement a radical economic reform and an anti-crisis program. Prof. Krustyu Krustev expressed the readiness of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria to participate in the parliamentary discussion, as well as in the final drafting of the new government's economic and social program, and stressed that the government would have to be provided with sufficiently strong powers. Such a government would receive the support of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria.

Independent TU Condemns Ruse 'Ecological Terror'

AU3108072790 Sofia BTA in English 2127 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 30 Aug (BTA)—The Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Syndicates in Bulgaria condemns the continuing ecological terror over Ruse and its 200,000 citizens. The independent syndicates insist before the government to adopt urgent additional measures for the fulfillment of the protocol as from July 4 this year and use all efficient forms to draw the attention of the international public. It is insisted that Ruse be declared a disastrous region and that an all-round and systematic observation over the health of the population be organized, particularly of children, that the needed conditions for treatment and restoration of the health of people be provided and the cooperation and help of the international health organizations be sought.

The confederation Executive Committee declares that it will adopt individual measures and draw the attention to the ecologic tragedy of the people of Ruse, for support from the national syndicate centrals, international syndicate associations and other non-government organizations. We will not hesitate and use extreme forms of civil and syndicate protest and pressure on the government, as well as on the Romanian authorities for settling this issue, the document reads.

There is an appeal to the National Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to the Federation of Free Trade Unions in Chemistry and Petro-Chemistry in Romania to render support not by words but by actions for an outcome from this situation and the Romanian Government is urged to take immediate measures.

Note Issued to Romanian Envoy on Ruse Pollution

AU3108100890 Sofia BTA in English 0943 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 31 Aug (BTA)—Filip Ishpekov, deputy foreign affairs minister received today Romania's ambassador and handed him a note with the Bulgarian side considerations for overcoming the ecological situation in the region of Ruse-Giurgiu.

The document notes that on the initiative of the Bulgarian side and in compliance with the latest agreements between Andrey Lukanov and Petre Roman the two countries' regional inspections on environment preservation have started an urgent investigation of the latest case of gas pollution of Ruse on August 27 this year.

Proceeding from the agreement in principle between the prime ministers on the need of international expertise the Bulgarian side also proposes the organizing of a recent meeting of the expert groups which should determine the concrete ways for holding an international expertise on disputable issues related to the ecological situation in this region.

The Bulgarian side is holding persistently its demand not to use the respective installations of the chemical combine in Giurgiu until the negotiations are over.

BSP Alternative Socialists in Court After Split

AU2808145790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 Aug 90 p 2

[Boris Gergov report]

[Text] The attorneys of the Alternative Socialist Association [ASO] faction of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Independent Alternative Socialist Association met on 24 August in courtroom 11 of the law courts in order for the court to decide which of the two may use the original registration made before the elections.

Sources outside the courtroom claim that in essence the case is being brought to decide the ownership of the DEN newspaper, whose balance sheet at the moment shows a profit of approximately 150-170,000 leva.

The court heard the attorneys' arguments and stated that it would issue its verdict within seven days.

The ASO split at its Fourth National Conference in July, at which 37 of the 250 participants broke away and held

their own national conference. Now both sides claim that they are the true representatives of the ASO.

Gasoline Available; Deliveries Said Sporadic

AU3008194190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 29 Aug 90 p 1

[Veselka Dinova report]

[Text] Gasoline supplies are stabilizing this week, and this process is expected to continue at least until the end of September. Every day 2,600 tonnes are delivered, which exceeds the daily deliveries of 2,000 tonnes last week. The quantity of 86-octane gasoline has increased to about 1,600 tonnes daily.

However, only about half of consumer demand is being met, and there are a number of reasons for this. Priority is being given to the vehicles of enterprises and official departments which stock the food stores and to transportation vehicles engaged in the agricultural harvest.

Lines at the gas stations are also caused by irregular deliveries. At the moment only 15 of the 50 gasoline stations in Sofia are receiving regular deliveries. This shortage, as well as people's fears of being left with no gasoline, has meant that the increased prices have failed to regulate consumption, despite the fact that during June and July almost the same amounts of gasoline were sold to the population as in the same period of 1989.

Village Council Offices Burned Down in Lovech

AU3008200890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 29 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] Late on Monday evening [27 August], unknown persons set fire to the village council offices in the village of Umarevtsi, Lovech Oblast. The investigation organs of the Lovech Regional Directorate of Militia have established that the fire was caused deliberately, and did not result from a fault in the electrical wiring.

Eyewitnesses claim that the first flames reached the courtyard of the building, where the local archives, dating back to Turkish times, is located. By a miracle, the population registers were saved.

The amount of the damage has still not been assessed. However, it is sufficient to make it impossible for the council offices to function.

Dimitrov Issues Letter to NATO on Relations

AU3008190390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Atanas Ginev, Bulgarian ambassador to Belgium, has delivered a letter to NATO Headquarters, in which Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs, informs Manfred Woerner that he has instructed the Bulgarian ambassador to Belgium to maintain regular diplomatic relations between our country and NATO.

After the delivery of the letter Roland Wegener, chief of the private office of NATO's secretary general, said that establishing normal diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and NATO has become possible thanks to the democratic processes in the East European countries and the general detente in East-West relations. He also expressed his wish that relations between NATO and Bulgaria do not remain purely formal.

Atanas Ginchev said that Bulgaria shares NATO's assessment of the development of the democratic processes in Eastern Europe and more specifically, of the process of democratization in our country.

At the talks that took place afterward, the two discussed a broad range of issues related to peace and security in Europe and the world, including the Balkans.

President Zhelev Receives U.S. Senate Delegation

AU3008204190 Sofia BTA in English 2006 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 30 Aug (BTA)—Bulgaria and the United States are opening a new page in their relations. This was stated today during the meeting between President Zhelyu Zhelev and a group of U.S. senators headed by the Republican minority leader Robert Dole.

The Bulgarian state leader familiarized the guests with changes in Bulgaria and expressed conviction that many new laws of the country's democratic organization will be adopted and applied, that the Grand National Assembly will become a truly working body.

The delegation promised almost anything that we wanted in the sphere of economy, President Zhelev told journalists after the meeting. "This is especially important to us now, bearing in mind the crisis period that we are entering," he added.

The Bulgarian state leader told about a promised one million tons of fodder grain for saving animal-breeding in this country, as well as other aid under the form of foods and medicines. The United States will mediate for the establishment of closer relations with Saudi Arabia in view the petrol deliveries, including on the basis of U.S. credits, the president said.

The status of a most favored-nation is also among the promised things.

Robert Dole expressed before journalists the U.S. willingness to develop relations with Bulgaria and help for the further development of democracy.

Senator Walker from the Defense Committee made it clear that an agreement was reached regarding the fate of the SS-23 missiles on the Bulgarian territory which is important for the non-violence of the U.S.-USSR INF Treaty.

136 Nationals Evacuated From Kuwait, Iraq

AU2908140290 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 25 Aug 90 p 4

[CTK report: "Home From Kuwait"]

[Text] A special Czechoslovak Airlines aircraft arrived at Ruzyne Airport from Amman and Ankara yesterday. Aboard were 136 Czechoslovak citizens from Kuwait and Iraq. Apart from Czechoslovak Embassy staff, the only citizens left in Kuwait are those who, as of 23 August, were not interested in being evacuated. The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs is continuing its intense negotiations with the responsible Iraqi authorities about permitting our other citizens to depart from Iraq. In harmony with the Security Council Resolution No. 661, the Czechoslovak side is of the opinion that conditions for the normal fulfillment of the contracts concluded between Czechoslovak and Iraqi organizations do not exist.

Communication With Embassy in Kuwait 'Interrupted'

AU2908133990 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 28 Aug 90 p 8

[CTK report in the "From the World" column: "Feverish Negotiations on the Crisis in the Persian Gulf"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Most countries have ignored Baghdad's demand that they close their embassies in occupied Kuwait and move them to Baghdad. [passage omitted] In harmony with the government's decision not to abandon the diplomatic mission in Kuwait, Czechoslovakia continues to be represented there by the ambassador and one [other] diplomat. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, communication with them has been interrupted. [passage omitted]

New Information on 1968 Soviet-Led Invasion

AU2708162990

[Editorial Report] Czech and Slovak dailies on 20 and 21 August commemorate extensively the 22d anniversary of the occupation of Czechoslovakia by five Warsaw Pact armies, publishing statements by political parties and organizations, commentaries, recollections and historical analyses of the events of August 1968, as well as interviews with Soviet journalists and Czechoslovak politicians involved in the events of those days. Some of these items contain what is described as previously "secret" or "newly found" information on the invasion.

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 20 August on pages 1 and 3 and Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 21 August on page 5 of a special supplement devoted to the events of August 1968 both publish a 1,200-word Karel Pacner article entitled "Victims; From a Secret Report for the Highest Political Officials." The report cites a "secret" Czechoslovak Interior Ministry report on the number of casualties claimed by the invasion. As Pacner points out, the report was compiled at the request of the General Prosecutor's Office for the needs of the then state leadership. Only five copies were produced—one each for Ludvik Svoboda, the president; Alexander Dubcek, the Communist Party chief; Oldrich Cernik, the premier; Josef Smrkovsky, the head of parliament; and Peter Colotka, the deputy premier. The sixth copy, which serves as Pacner's source of information, was made "illegally" by Dana Kohoutkova-Patrmanova, an employee of the Interior Ministry's Research Institute in 1968.

According to Pacner, Mrs. Patrmanova recently made her own copy of the document available to the government commission which analyzes the events of 1967-1970. This document reveals that between 21 August and 28 September 1968 "the occupiers killed 82 Czechoslovak citizens, severely injured 300, and slightly injured 500." Between 29 September and 18 October, an additional 18 Czechoslovaks were killed and 35 severely injured by the invading troops. The "secret report" also states that "not a single case has been ascertained of a killed or an injured person having used firearms against the foreign soldiers." The only death among the invading troops brought about by Czechoslovak citizens, according to the document, was that of a Bulgarian soldier attacked and killed by three Czechoslovaks.

As Pacner stresses, the Czechoslovak documents prove that the documentary films screened in the Soviet Union in the fall of 1968, showing "the arrival of special trains from Czechoslovakia with coffins of Soviet soldiers murdered by counterrevolutionaries," were forgeries. The coffins actually contained the corpses of "Soviet soldiers who died in traffic accidents and other so-called extraordinary events which accompany every large-scale movement of troops, soldiers sentenced by courts-martial to death by a firing squad because of their refusal to participate in the occupation, as well as soldiers who committed suicide."

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 21 August on pages 1 and 3 publishes a 2,800-word interview with historian Professor Vojtech Mencl, chairman of the government commission set up to analyze the events of 1967-70, by Karel Pacner and Jiri Leschtina entitled "The Invasion Could Not Be Averted." The interview, the date and place of which are not given, deals with the commission's "latest findings" on the circumstances of the 21 August 1968 invasion.

Asked about the "letter of invitation" asking for Soviet military "assistance," Mencl says that, although the commission "has not yet managed to obtain the text of any such letter" (also because the Soviet archives "remain inaccessible"), "at least two letters of invitation" were presented to the Soviets according to the commission's "latest findings." The first was presented to Leonid Brezhnev by Radko Kaska, a Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee

staffer, in Bratislava on 3 August 1968 and "most likely contained the signatures of several members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the government." The second letter, in which the "plotters" announced that they were preparing a putsch in the party and state leadership and "demanded from Moscow a speedy intervention" was sent to Moscow on 17 August. In this second letter, its authors reportedly claimed that "6 out of 11 members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium" plus 50 members of the CPCZ Central Committee were on their side. Mencl notes that the commission is unable to name all the signatories of these letters because its information is based on "indirect testimonies"; it can only say for sure that they included Vasil Bilak, Drahomir Kolder, and Alois Indra.

Speaking about the "plotters' scenario" (which did not come off because two of the plotters' presumed allies in the Presidium, Barbirek and Piller, decided to back Dubcek at the last moment), Mencl says that, immediately after the arrival of the invading armies, "the main political leaders of the Prague Spring" were to be arrested and put before a "special tribunal." He continues: "According to all accessible material, a total of about 40,000 people were to be tried. They had been divided into several categories according to their degree of 'guilt.' Representatives of the CPCZ Central Committee and some other leading functionaries were to be quickly liquidated, most likely also physically." As Mencl goes on to say, the "plotters" were planning to install Drahomir Kolder as new general secretary of the party, while Viliam Salgovic was to become new minister of interior.

Returning to the issue of the "letter of invitation" to the Soviets, Mencl says that its importance is being exaggerated because it served only as a pretext. The true reasons for the invasion were not political, according to Mencl, but "military-strategic": "The main aim was not only to destroy the Prague Spring but, first and foremost, to deploy permanently Soviet troops in our country. Looking at the invasion of Czechoslovakia from this viewpoint, it simply could not be averted."

In the interview, Mencl also discusses the commission's findings on the role played by Gustav Husak in implementing the post-1968 policies. He claims that the true "executor of Moscow's policy was Vasil Bilak, who held in his hands the key structures of the political system, particularly cadre policy, ideology, the media, and, indirectly, also the Army and the security forces. Husak was initially only a figurehead, often a helpless and humiliated one."

President Havel Describes Mood in E. Europe

PM2908161590 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 28 Aug 90 p 10

[Report on interview with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel by Ulf Andenaes in Prague; date not given: "Hate Was Not the Driving Force of Our Revolution"]

[Excerpts] One of Europe's most remarkable leaders, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, arrives in Oslo today to take part in the "Anatomy of Hatred" Conference. AFTENPOSTEN met Havel in Prague. [passage omitted]

When Havel spoke at the Salzburg Festival this summer it caused a great stir when he attempted to settle the affair of Austrian President Waldheim, who is burdened with allegations of Nazi involvement and who was sitting in the front row of Havel's audience. The section of his speech that was less reported in the news was Havel's description of the Monday morning blues after the revolution—the feeling of emptiness and purposelessness after the first free elections had been held and democracy had been guaranteed.

We asked him whether this is a widespread mood in today's Czechoslovakia.

[Havel] It is an atmosphere which is noticeable in many ways in our part of Europe. It is mixed with tiredness, with dissatisfaction, and disappointment that the changes are not taking place quickly enough. I have discussed this with our friends in Poland, in Hungary, and in the Soviet Union, who are facing a similar dilemma. The same mood is spreading through our countries, even though it is not everywhere at the same time. It goes in waves. We have had such a wave this summer after our first elections were completed.

[Andenaes] Surely it is not that difficult to experience emptiness and purposelessness in Western Europe?

[Havel] True, but in your flourishing democracies such emotions have a different character. In the West the experience of emptiness can arise as a reflection of society's affluence—through the feeling that all objectives have been achieved and nothing is left—that there is nothing more to look forward to.

This belongs among our age's illnesses and is easy to come across in modern free societies, but it is, nevertheless, a different form of illness from the one we suffer here. In our part of Europe the illness of emptiness begins when we realize how far we still are from reaching our goals. [Havel ends; passage omitted]

The theme of hate ought to suit Havel, who told us that he has never hated or even disliked another human being. Such a degree of charity must have been useful through decades under a regime which made it its task to make life as difficult as possible for him.

[Andenaes] What do you think the chances are that hate will be a leading force in Eastern European society, with all the nationalism and divisions between various ethnic groups that there are there?

[Havel] I do not think that nationalist or racist hate has gotten the upper hand as of yet, but there could easily be favorable conditions for such tendencies. We must be prepared to weed out the first shoots of them wherever they raise their heads.

[Andenaes] Is anti-Semitism still the scourge of Eastern Europe?

[Havel] I dare to believe that it is not at all a serious threat in my country, apart from some isolated outbreaks in Slovakia. There have been signs of racial hatred against groups like gypsies, Vietnamese guest workers, Romanians, and others, but there has been little expression of hatred against Jews. After the lessons of World War II, it is difficult to imagine anti-Semitism as a force in Czechoslovakia.

Of course, the situation in the Soviet Union is much more serious. My impression is that the anti-Semitism there is caused not so much by political or economic pressure, but more by a feeling of being threatened. Furthermore, by a different historic background, which has, for example, been expressed through the great pogroms in Russia, in Galicia, and so on. We do not have such an inheritance from the past. [end of Havel's answer]

Before the revolution Havel used to say that a change of system in his country could only be achieved through the people's own strength—there was no use in settling down and waiting for help from outside in the figure of a Gorbachev or someone else. In November last year his prophesy—or wish—came true, because the Czech and Slovak peoples took things into their own hands and carried through the revolution themselves. Surely it is undeniable that hate can be a driving force for a revolution?

[Havel] Our revolution, at least, was one of the peaceful revolutions. It was a revolution without hate, in the sense that hate did not play an important role. This was shown during the dramatic events of 17 November when the student demonstrators gave the police flowers.

[Andenaes] What is your relationship to our accepted political concepts such as "right-wing" and "left-wing," "radical" and "reactionary," and so on? Do such words have any meaning any more in your view?

[Havel] I cannot see that there is any place for me within the traditional patterns of politics. I never had any ambitions to play a role as a professional politician or leader. I believe that, in the new phase of history we have entered, it is more important to direct attention to the more fundamental questions, such as the meaning of life, the possibility of filling our lives with what is real and with dignity, rather than the usual political doctrines and concepts. [end of Havel's answer]

His own contribution to the "Anatomy of Hatred" Conference will deal with "existential, psychological, and theoretical questions" more than with politics, said the president with the philosophical bent. "I have never been to Norway before, but I have gotten to know the country through friends and through reading, so I do not feel that the Norwegians will be strangers to me."

OF Member Organization Unhappy With OF

AU2708193490 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 22 Aug 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Jiri Skalicky, deputy chairman of the Civic Democratic Alliance and deputy to the Chamber of Nations for Civic Forum, by Tomas Marek; place and date not given: "There Can Only Be a Radical Reform"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Marek] The present situation is such that there exist several currents within Civic Forum [OF] which are not in agreement, particularly on economic issues. Do you intend to react to this by leaving the movement?

[Skalicky] The OF deputies in legislative bodies, among whom the Civic Democratic Alliance has seven representatives (it also has one minister in the Czech Government), jointly bear responsibility for the development of the political situation and for maintaining stability within the state. We intend to live up to this responsibility and therefore do not plan to fragmentize the majority bloc which the OF and the Public Against Violence movement form in parliament. We are willing and prepared to reach compromise solutions, although a compromise on the economic reform would be regarded by us as a great misfortune.

[Marek] Some [OF] politicians have already declared in public that the OF will run again in the parliamentary elections to be held in two years. What is your opinion on this?

[Skalicky] We disagree with this concept. In two years, our citizens should be able to vote along diversely structured civic political directions and, by the same token, diverse economic concepts. The process of shaping Czechoslovakia's political landscape proceeds rather slowly and it does not seem likely that one of the new political parties will be able to compete with the OF in two years' time. That is why we have set ourselves the goal of operating in such a way within the OF as to gradually achieve the crystallization of a right wing and of a left wing within the movement. It could otherwise happen that the next elections will even reinforce the influence of nationalist movements or other forces defending narrow group interests.

Commander on Changes in Army, Drop in Discipline

AU2708115390 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 21 Aug 90 p 6

[Interview with General Lieutenant Engineer Imrich Andrejcak, commander of the Eastern Military District, by NARODNA OBRODA correspondent Anton Fillo, date and place not given: "The Army, too, Is Going Through Changes"]

[Excerpts] General Lieutenant Engineer Imrich Andrejcak has been commander of the Eastern Military District since last year. [passage omitted] In connection with the changes currently undergone by the Czechoslovak Army, Anton Fillo, our staff journalist, asked him for an interview: [passage omitted]

[Fillo] How do soldiers react to the process of democratization [in army life]?

[Andrejcak] Very positively. This process allows every army member to freely express his attitude to military service. We have not, however, achieved any marked progress as regards the soldiers' more conscientious and responsible approach to the fulfillment of duties. Quite to the contrary, their attitude has deteriorated, in the opinion of some commanders. The level of discipline among conscripts, for example, has declined to some extent. By arbitrarily leaving the barracks, some irresponsible individuals fundamentally violate the words of their military oath. I believe that we, the Army and the general public, are facing an urgent task—to awaken patriotic feelings and strengthen the attitude toward the defense of our common homeland.

[Fillo] In the past our army command had quite serious problems with soldiers who, for religious or moral reasons, refused to carry arms. The new law on civilian service is now on the side of these soldiers. How is the Army coping with this new situation?

[Andrejcak] It is understandable that, particularly in the initial months [of the validity of the law on alternative national service] there was a lot of confusion and many problems as regards the practical implementation of individual provisions of the law. We have managed to gradually overcome them. Army units and district military administrations have harmonized their course of action and exact record keeping has been introduced. So far, one in ten soldiers in army units of the Eastern Military District has applied for civilian service. Most of them are at home already. It is beyond dispute that such a number of released soldiers adversely affects the army units' combat capability and the completion of noncommissioned officers' schools and training courses. Those opting for civilian service are having problems as well, however, because all conscripts who have refused to carry arms are still waiting to be called up to carry out their civilian service.

[Fillo] Our Army has been going through many organizational and structural changes of late. How did these changes affect the Eastern Military District?

[Andrejcak] The rocket units of both divisions deployed on the territory of Slovakia were abolished last year already. At present we are in the process of liquidating the tank regiment at Martin. The numbers of tanks in the tank battalion of the combined-arms regiments are also being cut. A total of 182 T-54 and T-55 tanks previously deployed in units of the Eastern Military District have been transferred to the Nitra, Leopoldov, Kladno, Kurim, and Hostivar plants of the Kovosrot [Scrap Metal] enterprise. Through specialized retail facilities at Sered and Nitra, we have offered to the civilian sector at reduced prices a large number of wheeled vehicles and other military material, in which organizations but also private entrepreneurs are greatly interested.

[Fillo] Recently there has been much talk in the public about the redeployment of some units from Bohemia to Slovakia. How true are these rumors?

[Andrejcak] It is too early to discuss this issue. The Defense Council of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic must deliver its opinion on it first.

Langos Admits Interior Ministry Made 'Mistake'

AU2708112690 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 21 Aug 90 p 2

[Interview with Jan Langos, CSFR interior minister, by an "(RD)"-signed reporter; place and date not given: "Mistakes, Secrecy, and the Public"]

[Text] We asked Minister Jan Langos to explain in more detail the statement he made to CTK in which he appealed to journalists to show more discretion in reporting on certain topics.

[Langos] I had in mind previous information leaks, but mainly the documents published in LIDOVE NOVINY on 17 August 1990 under the headline "Why the Soldier Maslyayev Was Handed Over." In this case, the complete names of people who work in an Interior Ministry department were published. In my opinion—and I am sticking to it—the press' approach in this instance was, to say the least, ill considered. Incidentally, I said this in my statement.

[MLADA FRONTA] We agree with you. Everyone should honor the presumption of innocence. However, we feel that you should guard the important information leaking from the Interior Ministry a little bit better....

[Langos] The editor who published the documents claimed that he obtained them from some civilian commission. However, this is impossible. One document had been drafted by a Czech Republic Interior Ministry team of inquiry and the other had been drafted by my team of inquiry. I am able to keep the lid on my business. However, I admit that in this instance an elementary mistake was made in an Interior Ministry department.

Nuclear Plant Construction Prospects

LD2708200790 Prague CTK in English 1511 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia has taken a course of complete frankness in questions of the further construction of nuclear power plants which means that all intentions and projects are judged with international experts and institutions participating, a Czechoslovak expert in nuclear power plant construction has told CTK.

Vladimir Novy of the Ministry of Economics Fuels and Energy Section said that technology for Czechoslovakia's future nuclear power plants will be decided on the basis of a competition with firms of world renown taking part. The Soviet VVER [water-cooled, water-moderated energy reactor] technology used in Czechoslovakia to date will take part in the competition but the choice will depend on the most favourable criteria for a given locality.

Besides the six nuclear power plants units now under construction (two 440 mw units in Mochovce and two 1000 mw ones in Temelin), further localities for nuclear power plants are being considered including Tetov in East Bohemia, Blahutovice in North Moravia and Kecerovce in East Slovakia. The draft is to be submitted for thorough discussion to the two national and the federal governments, Novy said.

Meciar 'Determined' To Complete Danube Dam

AU2708133290 Prague PRACE in Czech 21 Aug 90 p 2

["(rh)"-signed Gabcikovo dispatch: "Still the Old Song; Yesterday Members of the Slovak Government Dealt With the Fate of the Gabcikovo Dam"]

[Text] Gabcikovo—"Completing this project and eliminating the ecological consequences will be a lesser evil than restoring the landscape to its original condition," Vladimir Meciar, premier of the Slovak Republic, said at a briefing for journalists yesterday after inspecting, together with his entourage, the [building site of the] Gabcikovo hydropower project, first from a helicopter, and later on foot.

"Having a look is easy, but we must make a decision," he said. More than 14 billion korunas have been invested in this project already. As we know, the Hungarian side has abandoned the planned construction of the Nagymaros dam. Although the political changes in the neighboring country are evident, the fate of the project is not clear. Our minister of foreign affairs will meet his counterpart in Hungary on 27 August. Even if they reach no decision, the Slovak Government is determined to complete the project. Should the Czechoslovak side remain alone in building the project, an alternative variant will be chosen: a through-flow [prutokova] power station [instead of a peak-load power station]. This preliminary decision is also the outcome of an analysis of the present energy situation.

Given the plans to limit [power generation in] the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power station, the failure to complete Gabcikovo would intensify the shortage of energy. As representatives of the investor and chief contractor said yesterday, it is even possible to accelerate the work on the project's completion in the interests of the needs of society. Vladimir Meciar said that the government will also examine all possibilities to compensate for losses, and warned that the Gabcikovo power station could become a banana peel under the foot of our future energy policy. Slovakia has no choice, he said. Apart from the completion of projects already under construction, other ways of improving our energy situation also exist. First: Start tearing down parts of the V-1 power station at Jaslovske Bohunice, and build two new units in their place. Second: Build two additional units at Mochovce or bring forward the construction start of the power station at Kecerovce. From the ecological point of view, the catastrophe actually started with the commencement of the construction of Gabcikovo. The priority now is to minimize the damage.

It is deplorable that during yesterday's visit of Slovak Government members [to Gabcikovo], journalists did not learn anything new about the planned output of the Czechoslovak section of the project, or about the fate of the old and new Danube river beds.

Slovak Premier's Decision Criticized

AU2708190190 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 22 Aug 90 p 2

[Martin Komarek commentary: "Banana Peel of the Spirit"]

[Text] "Though the decision to occupy Czechoslovakia was not correct, not only will our troops stay, but we will send an additional 100,000 of our boys there." This luckily fictitious TASS statement would scarcely delight us. Judging from a report released by CTK on Monday [20 August], however, the same ingenious logic has been displayed by Vladimir Meciar, the Slovak premier. On the one hand he claims that Gabcikovo-Nagymaros, this insipid dinosaur of totalitarianism, is the "vaudeville banana peel for our energy policy." But at the same time he claims that it must be completed! Even more outrageous is the argument that Slovakia is in a miserable situation in terms of energy. Even a small child knows today that the energy-intensiveness of our products is twice or thrice higher than in advanced countries, that our obsolete enterprises are throwing energy, literally, out of the window. Instead of compelling them to conserve energy, we will serve it to them on a silver platter, even at the cost of turning a beautiful and fertile region into an arid barren one. What has, in fact, changed since the times of [communist Premier] Adamec, when state-paid scientists were proving the harmlessness of the monster on the Danube? I would say that if there is a banana peel somewhere, then it was Mr. Premier who slipped on it (or CTK, if it distorted his words).

Unrest, Determination To Strike Among Miners

AU2708085390

[Editorial Report] Czech and Slovak newspapers have recently published several items dealing with growing "unrest" among Czechoslovak coal miners, caused by the mines' dire financial situation and plans to close unprofitable coal mines.

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 8 August on page 3 carries a 500-word unattributed article entitled "On a Powder Keg." The article quotes a statement issued jointly by the management and trade unions of the Slovak coal mines in Prievidza, which asks the government "to immediately deal with the income situation of the enterprise, which is short of financial resources." The statement calls for the "solidarity" of miners in the other coal districts and expresses the "determination to stage a strike" if their demands are not met. According to the NARODNA OBRODA article, in a telephone interview with the newspaper Pavel Gajdos, manager of the Kladno bituminous coal mines, expressed "full solidarity with the Slovak miners."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 18 August on page 2 carries a 250-word CTK report entitled "Slow Solution; Serious Situation Among Miners." The report deals with a consultative meeting of chairmen of member organizations of the Federal Trade Union of Mining, Geology, and Oil Industry Workers, held in Ostrava on 17 August. The meeting adopted a statement which expressed "full support" for the Prievidza coal miners' financial demands and called attention to the insolvency, or expected insolvency, of many coal mines. The statement warns that, unless the government adopts a stand on the miners' demands by 31 August, the federal trade union will recommend to its member organizations to declare a strike alert as of 1 September. The statement also stresses that the miners do not demand wage increases.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 22 August on page 2 carries an 800-word interview with Stanislav Hosek, chairman of the Federal Trade Union of Mining, Geology, and Oil Industry Workers, by RUDE PRAVO correspondent Vladimir Cechlovsky entitled "What Do Miners Want?" The interview, the place and date of which are not given, deals with the causes of the "considerable unrest among miners."

Hosek says that the miners "are agitated" because of the government's failure so far to decide on the miners' "extraordinary retirement" at the age of fifty and because of its failure to concern itself with the fate of miners who will be laid off. According to Hosek, this concerns 13,500 miners in the Ostrava-Karvina coal basin alone.

Asked whether it is not up to the coal mines, rather than the government, to attend to the retraining of their employees and to secure new jobs for them, Hosek says that the coal mines lack the money for that. Many of them are even unable to pay wages and must "beg the minister for money month after month." Hosek denies that the miners are opposed to the closure of unprofitable mines. As he says "the problem is not that the miners would be unwilling to limit output, the problem [preventing the closure of unprofitable mines] is that there has been no noticeable drop in demand for coal. The government and individual enterprises which have contracts with the mines are forcing us to maintain production roughly at last year's level." He also points out that, because of the absence of other jobs, coal output cannot be limited abruptly.

Hosek demands that the government present its concept for dealing with the "critical situation" in mining and that it expeditiously adopt "at least the first remedial steps."

Slovak National Uprising Commemorated 29 Aug

Havel Makes Address

LD2908170890 Prague Television Service in Czech 1445 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Address by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel at rally in Banska Bystrica to commemorate anniversary of 1944 Slovak uprising—live]

[Text] Dear fellow citizens:

For many years I have watched on television somewhat starchy celebrations of the Slovak national uprising in Banska Bystrica, and for many years I asked myself the question: When will it be possible at last to tell the full and objective truth about this, the most important event in modern Slovak history? When will all the surviving heroes of that uprising be invited to come here at last? When will the role of those who no longer live or who fell be properly appreciated? When will it be possible to talk objectively about the decisive role played by the Slovak army headed by Generals Viest and Golian? [applause] How many various layers of lies and half-truths were piled at various times for a purely expedient reason upon that uprising? The more pompous its celebrations were, the deeper the silence about many of its connections and dimensions.

I have at last lived to see the day of truth. At last it is possible to examine the history of the uprising in an unbiased manner and tell the truth about it. Although today's anniversary is not a rounded one, it is important, precisely because we are marking it in an atmosphere of freedom and truth. [applause] Today it is possible to voice our gratitude and respect to all those whose names were for many years shrouded in silence or who were persecuted for their merits.

For me, personally, the Slovak national uprising is synonymous with the best traditions of the Slovak nation. [applause] zIt provided proof that the Slovak nation, like the Czech one, longs for freedom, democracy, and friendly co-existence on the basis of complete equality in one common state unit. [applause] Although people did not talk at that time about a federation, I believe that our present effort to build an authentic federation is a legitimate crowning of the ideals which led large numbers of brave Slovaks to rise against an evil regime. [applause] The uprising was not the sole work of Communists, but of a broad democratic coalition representing the best that is in the Slovak nation. [applause]

The uprising showed to the whole world that the Slovak nation longs for freedom and that it does not want to link its sovereignty with fascism. [applause] In addition to the Prague rising and our common home and foreign-based resistance movement, it saved the honor of our nations and was a reason why we became one of the victorious states of World War II. The democratic world and allies were looking at that time at fighting Slovakia, with the same attention and respect with which they are watching Czechoslovakia and Slovakia today. This is an opportunity which we must not waste, as happened to us after 1945 and in particular after 1948. [applause] As we know, everything came to a different end than the fighters for our freedom envisaged. Nonetheless, the uprising was not a waste. On the contrary, had there not been such historic values and traditions which this uprising represents, that is, our will to live a dignified life, achieve national sovereignty and independence, democracy, political pluralism, Christian humanism, and at the same time our resolve to resist evil, there would have been nothing for us to follow. The anti-Hitlerite resistance, like the resistance against communist totalitarianism, are pillars on which we can rest the edifice which we are building today. [applause]

Allow me to pay my deepest respect to all those who in 1944 resisted evil and who contributed toward ensuring that we are free today. [prolonged applause]

Dubcek Speaks at Celebration

LD2908153590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek and National Defense Minister Army General Miroslav Vacek today attended Banska Bystrica celebrations of the 46th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising, and the unveiling of a commemorative plaque to General Jan Golian and General Rudolf Viest. In a festive speech, Alexander Dubcek outlined the fate of both generals, who had taken part in the uprising and whose role had not been fully appreciated in the past decades. He stressed that we regard, and will continue to regard, the Slovak national uprising as a major event in Slovak history, the history of the common state of the Czechs and the Slovaks, as well as other ethnic minorities living in it. He also singled out the role played by friendly relations between Czechs and Slovaks and the state built on democratic principles; at the same time, he rejected any separatist attitudes aimed at destroying it.

Slovak Premier on 1944 Uprising

LD2908180190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1453 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Address by Slovak Republic Premier Vladimir Meciar at rally in Banska Bystrica to commemorate anniversary of 1944 Slovak uprising, in Slovak—live]

[Text] I do not usually write my speeches, but on a festive day such as this, I do not want to provoke the journalists into writing something else. [laughter]

Mr. President, delegates of the parliamentary assemblies and governments, fellow citizens, and participants of the Slovak national uprising:

We are here because the Slovak national uprising was an inseparable part of our national history, and from it we draw moral strength and historical lessons for our further development. [applause] We are also here to pay tribute to all those who fell in the struggle for national liberation and democracy and to all those who took part in that heroic struggle. They put everything they had into it and, above all, their lives. [applause] They had to wait for freedom; they waited a long time, but they did not ever expect recognition and recompense, and, therefore, they never deserved to be disparaged or humiliated by anyone nor to be persecuted for their participation or incarcerated. [applause] The powers—not their homeland—often treated their sons and daughters badly. We cannot turn back time, but respect for the uprising and for their struggle remains. [applause]

In the last few years we have witnessed pompous and expensive celebrations. We witnessed how one party arrogated to itself the results of the uprising and endorsed the legacy of the uprising. But because of narrow ideological and power interests, as well as attempts to glorify only certain individuals of the uprising by strictly defined party affiliation, it never managed fully to implement the legacy of the uprising, nor did it manage to explain the meaning and history of the uprising. Evaluating the uprising from so-called class-political viewpoints led to the deliberate distortion of the truth about the uprising. Now we are seeing the other extreme: attempts to evaluate the developments in Slovakia from 1938 to 1945 as almost an idyllic picture in which the uprising should not have taken place. We reject both these extremes. [applause] We expect the scientists and historians to tell the nation and the world public the truth about the Slovak national uprising. We owe this to the participants of the uprising, we owe it to ourselves. [applause]

If we want to understand ourselves and know where we are going, we must know our past and understand its legacies. The Slovak nation rose up against the fascism of Hitler and Mussolini, but also against fascism in its domestic guise. [applause] It was not only an objection rejecting totalitarianism, but it demonstrated clearly that the Slovak people want democratic development and nothing else.

Unfortunately, many years have passed before we could start returning to democracy. [applause] The basis of the uprising was national unity of democratic forces which stood against the power of weapons. It has transpired that if we respect plurality of political forces in Slovakia and if their unification is carried out in a higher supra-party interest, vast resources of national energy will be

released. We must remember it today, too. The Slovak national uprising was not only due to the Communist Party, but also other political parties. Unity of the civic bloc was being formed in the Slovak national uprising, and we know that this heritage—unity of citizens—is speaking to us today. [applause] One cannot but say that the Slovaks in the Slovak national uprising, during times of difficult trials, fought under the flag of the joint state of the Czechs and the Slovaks, under the flag of the Czechoslovak Republic. [applause] At the same time they clearly expressed their idea of this sort of life in the slogan which said that we want to march together, but only as equals. [applause]

Forty-six years have passed, and we are yet again confirming our joint states, but only as equals in an authentic federation. [applause] The participants in the resistance, while appreciating the significance of the USSR, have endorsed the entire antifascist coalition and all its members. We know that a later development of military and political blocs has altered this heritage. Historical experience has taught us that the prospects of our development are only in balanced relations both in the direction of the East and the West.

Today we have the opportunity to fulfill this experience in new conditions. [applause] The uprising was national, but also international. Standing side by side were the Slovaks, the Czechs, the Russians, the Ukrainians, the Hungarians, the Bulgarians, the British and U.S. pilots, the French, antifascist Germans—altogether citizens of 29 nationalities. [applause] The fight against a common enemy has demonstrated that mutual respect, understanding, and intensive search for what is uniting everyone represent a living heritage also for the present—doors were opened in Slovakia for all those who came with good intentions—and that is how it should remain. [applause]

We have to continue searching for coexistence with other nationalities, for common paths, and understanding. [applause] The development after the uprising has tought us the lesson of how dangerous it is for society when a scientific knowledge must be subjected to the ideological interests of a group in power. The consequences were tragic for many people. In addition to legal persecution, there have been social, historical deformations. There has never been any justification for dividing participants in the resistance according to which member of the coalition they fought with. The division to the East and the suspicious Western world did not make it possible to pay a proper tribute and to give a proper place in life to everyone. The enemy was only one; the blood had the same color; life is of equal value; and courage in the struggle was a pride of a nation both in the East and on the Western front. [applause]

We cannot but critically view the contempt toward partisans at the uprising territory—there were 12,000 of them—or toward the role of soldiers—there were 60,000 of them. Thus, today, we must pay our respects to them. [applause] It is necessary to return honor to all of them. It is necessary to return honor to the names of their commanders, whom we were not allowed to hear anything about until now. It is necessary to analyze the shortcomings of cooperation abroad and in the command, but we must not—because of these shortcoming—not see the main thing: the determination to defend the homeland, to fight for the future. We must remember the human lives, burned villages, concentration camps, murders, the country's pain, and mothers' tears. [applause] I consider as necessary to return the honor and respect to representatives of all political forces which took part in the uprising and to those names which we no longer know and to those who used to be presented to us for many years as a picture of an enemy. The picture of noncommunists who during the uprising were only waiting around and wanted to defend only their class interests was not a true picture; the reality was quite different! [applause]

If we want to return to history, we cannot but see those who are a part and force of the country, those who we used to call small people but who were great men of their time, peasants, workers. [applause] They acted as they felt; they acted as their civic courage directed them. They acted in the interest of principles of humanity, protecting other lives; they risked and very often lost their own lives. We have to remember them to show that we have not forgotten anything or anyone. Their humane attitude, their feeling of belonging to the state and the nation—this is another great bequest for the present.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, I will leave to the historians what should be assessed by them. But as early as today, we can say that the Slovak national uprising was supressed, but it was never defeated. [applause] We lost many battles, but we won the war. [applause]

This too is a message for today. Today nobody asks us to sacrifice our lives for a better future. Nowadays, one has to unblock all that is in the way of creativity and enterprise. One has to release yet again the dams which held in the life-giving energy of the citizens of the Slovak Republic. What we need today is reason, work, unity, love toward the native country, understanding, tolerance. [applause] We are walking again along a new path, instructed by the past as well as the future, whose creation we will complete. There will be difficulties, there will be lost battles, but the victory will be ours. [applause] It is beautiful to live, and it is worth living during these times.

On behalf of our life in common—and I believe a better life—I appeal to you to honor your own past, but also to fight jointly for the tomorrow of Slovakia in the Czech and the Slovak Federative Republic. Thank you.

Recent Opinion Poll of Slovak Voters

AU2708100390 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 18 Aug 90 p 1

[Pavol Fric report: "Is a New Political Culture Being Born?"]

[Text] Who could forget the certainty with which the Christian Democratic Movement's [KDH] supporters

expected an election victory and their subsequent disappointment after the elections. It is difficult to forget the Public Against Violence movement's [VPN] fall "to the very bottom" only a month before its election triumph. It is difficult to forget the "rocket" start of the Slovak National Party [SNS] and the surprising entry of Coexistence into the federal parliament. These are only the most striking reversals and movements seen on the Slovak political scene before the June elections. It is also interesting to see that the results of the newest polls conducted by the Center for Research into Social Problems show that this movement continues and that it is becoming characteristic for Slovakia. From the following table it can be seen whom the people would vote for today, as compared to the June election results (data are given for the Slovak National Council and are expressed in percentages). [all figures as published]

Party	Today	Election Results	Difference
1. VPN	27.7	(29.3)	- 2.0
2. SNS	18.8	(13.9)	+ 4.9
3. KDH	15.0	(19.2)	- 4.2
4. Communist Party of Slovakia	11.5	(13.3)	- 1.8
5. Coexistence	6.9	(8.6)	- 1.5
6. Democratic Party	3.6	(4.3)	- 0.7
7. Green Party	3.3	(3.4)	- 0.1
8. Other parties	4.2	(9.2)	- 5.0
9. Undecided	9.4		

As can be seen from the table, the SNS and KDH made the most significant movements, the only difference is that the KDH dropped and SNS rose and came second after the VPN. The SNS is the only party whose support has increased and which has not seen a decline in the number of its supporters since its establishment. Its opposition role, but also the fact that the nationality problem in Slovakia is regarded as the most urgent one (which is undoubtedly its merit), definitely contributed to its current rise. As far as the KDH is concerned, we can only state that the decline in the number of its supporters is of a more permanent nature and is associated not only with the unhappy way in which its election campaign was conducted, but also with the loss of confidence in its ability to put its pre-election promises into practice. Its unexpected election defeat, which disappointed many, also contributed a great deal to this. The two-percent drop in the number of VPN supporters cannot be called anything else but a surprise. In view of a situation in which, on the one hand, there are price increases, nationality problems are exacerbating and shopping fever and anxieties about everyday life are becoming commonplace, and, on the other hand, problems with vetting are being renewed, salaries for ministers and deputies are being approved—and while it is clear to the public that the VPN bears the main responsibility for the development in society—the small drop in its supporters is a definite success.

No less interesting and important are the data about the changes in voters' preferences between individual parties and movements. Approximately 25 percent of those who voted for the VPN would decide to vote for another party or movement. More than one-third of them would vote for the SNS. Another third would increase the number of undecided ones. On the contrary, of those who would vote for the VPN today, almost nine percent voted for an other party. At the moment, the VPN gets most of its supporters from former Democratic Party and Coexistence voters. More than 10 percent of the SNS supporters became supporters of other parties. This is compensated by more than 30 percent of new supporters coming from the VPN and Democratic Party supporters.

Of all the political parties in the Slovak National Council, the Democratic Party has seen the largest drop in its supporters (more than 40 percent). The largest "exchange of cadres" was recorded by the Green Party—there is less than 50 percent of its former supporters among its supporters today.

Pithart Denies Pitra Awarded Top Post

AU2708203790 Prague PRACE in Czech 23 Aug 90 p 3

[CTK report: "It Was a Reasonable Compromise"]

[Text] Prague—Petr Pithart, Czech premier, issued a statement to CTK yesterday in which he reacts to some of the views being aired in connection with Mr. F. Pitra following the publication of a letter from S. Kares in LIDOVE NOVINY on 22 August. The letter blames the Czech premier for appointing Frantisek Pitra—"a bankrupt communist, nomenclature normalizer, and so on"—to the post of "government plenipotentiary for the development of the Western border region." Among other things, the Czech premier says in his statement:

"I acknowledge that President Vaclav Havel offered Mr. Pitra this position at the end of January when Mr. Pitra informed him that he was considering resigning from his post as premier of the Czech Socialist Republic. I am convinced that this was a completely understandable and, given the situation, reasonable compromise which—viewed from today's perspective—seems to have been a necessary condition for reorganizing the Government of National Understanding.

"I look upon this episode as one of the examples of irresponsible editorial practice which, unfortunately, we have been witnessing more and more often recently. LIDOVE NOVINY's editorial office informed the Czech Government Office about the contents of Mr. Kares' letter prior to its publication; nevertheless, it did not consider it appropriate to comment on the details contained in the letter. Such a stance may lead to considerable misunderstandings.

"The Czech Republic Government has prepared a recommendation for the appointment of a new chairman of the Administration for the Development of Border

Regions, an administration attached to the Czech Government Office. Neither F. Pitra nor M. Toman are being considered for this appointment."

1990 Czech Republic Harvest Results Reported

AU2708091290 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 16 Aug 90 p 1

["(kcr)"-signed report: "Agricultural Reform Without Delay"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] At yesterday's news conference at the Ministry of Agriculture of the Czech Republic, Deputy Minister J. Rados first provided information on this year's harvest. Thanks to favorable weather, fewer than 200,000 hectares of grain crops—i.e., 12.5 percent of the area planted with grain—remains to be harvested. The grain contains less than 14 percent moisture so it does not have to be dried. The quality of both bread wheat and malt barley is better than in previous years. The harvest estimate, too, is favorable. Czech Republic farmers are expected to bring in 7,660,000 tonnes of grain, which is roughly equivalent to last year's amount. Only some districts in South Moravia, particularly Breclav, Hodonin, and Znojmo, have been affected by drought. The planned procurement of winter rape, on the other hand, will not be fulfilled—in contrast to previous years—and will fall approximately five percent short of the target. The harvest of hops, too, is expected to be lower [than planned]; moreover, the crop is endangered by pests. [passage omitted]

This year's shortage of precipitation will also make itself felt in the yields of other crops—particularly corn, potatoes, and sugar beets. This is all the more grievous in view of the situation with imports of sugar cane from Cuba. Talks are being held on importing 50,000 tonnes of sugar to offset this shortfall. [passage omitted]

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *In order to provide information concerning German unification in one location for the benefit of our readers, material on that topic from the FRG, GDR, and other media is now being published in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.*

Situation of Nationals in Kuwait, Iraq Reviewed

AU3108082490 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 29 Aug 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Hans-Walter Froehlich, member of the crisis staff of the Foreign Ministry, by Martina Doering; place and date not given: "GDR Embassy in Kuwait Is Surrounded"]

[Text] [Doering] How many people are there still in the GDR Embassy in Kuwait?

[Froehlich] Since yesterday only Ambassador Kurt Merkel and his wife are still there. About 20 FRG citizens, perhaps also citizens of other states, who had sought refuge there, were able to leave the building yesterday.

[Doering] What is the situation like in the embassy?

[Froehlich] The embassy premises are a bit isolated. Thus, it was rather simple for the Iraqis to interrupt water and electricity supplies. However, the biggest problems are foodstuffs. Of course, the embassy was not prepared to care for as many people as sought refuge there.

[Doering] Is the embassy besieged?

[Froehlich] The military concentration in the city is very high and guards have been mounted around the buildings. However, it is too much of a risk anyway to leave the embassy, and the purchase of foodstuffs is very complicated.

[Doering] How many GDR citizens—including, for instance, engineers, scientists, and trainers—were in Kuwait at the time of the invasion?

[Froehlich] On 2 August 17 GDR citizens were in the country, including some children who visited their parents. Some of the experts had concluded their work in line with their contracts, some of them were on home leave. Fifteen of the 17 persons were able to leave Kuwait more than a week ago. Thirteen of these 15 crossed the border to Turkey after long delays. Some have called in from Ankara, but they are not yet in the GDR. Two people, who are not members of the Embassy, have not been permitted to leave Iraq. However, we continue to try to get them out.

[Doering] What about the GDR citizens in Baghdad?

[Froehlich] So far 20 of the 50 people have been able to leave. Those who are left are 16 members of the Embassy and 14 representatives of companies. There are no military experts among them—just to anticipate a potential question.

[Doering] What will happen now?

[Froehlich] Kurt Merkel and his wife will remain in the embassy for the time being, as long as they have enough food. We hope that Iraq will let those citizens who were able to leave the embassy premises leave the country in line with previous promises.

Von Stahl on 'New Findings' About RAF Attacks

AU3008083290 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 27 Aug 90 p 2

[ADN report: "New Findings"]

[Text] Berlin—The statements of the suspected Red Army Faction [RAF] terrorists, who were arrested in the GDR, and have meanwhile been transferred to the FRG, have resulted in "a great number of new findings" concerning attacks at the end of the 1970's, which have not been completely cleared up.

This was stated by Federal Prosecutor General Alexander von Stahl in an interview with BERLINER MORGENPOST.

The FRG's highest prosecutor hopes that, in particular, the attack on Dresdner Bank Chief Juergen Ponto, the assassination of Hanns-Martin Schleyer, president of the Employers' Association (both in 1977), and the attack on former NATO Commander in Chief Alexander Haig in Belgium in 1979 can now be completely cleared up.

Von Stahl also commented on possible violent crimes committed by the former Stasi [State Security Service] on FRG citizens. It has been discovered that this was "a complete perversion of state power," which must be punished. Those responsible for these investigations, however, are the public prosecutor's offices of the laender. "These will also have to take into account...the responsibility under criminal law of former State Security Minister Mielke." Because "the command headquarters for the state terrorism" was in East Berlin, the authorities in the reunited Berlin will have to carry the main burden of dealing with this issue. A department for serious crimes committed for political motives should be established at the Berlin public prosecutor's office, Von Stahl said.

Files on 'La Belle' Attack Reportedly Disappear

AU3008122190 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 30 Aug 90 p 4

[Dieter Dose report: "Attack on Diestel: Where Are La Belle Files?"]

[Text] Berlin—There is statement versus a statement. West Berlin Internal Affairs Senator Erich Paetzold (Social Democratic Party of Germany) claims that GDR

Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel refuses to hand over files, thus hindering the clearing up of the bomb attack on the "La Belle" discotheque in Berlin. Diestel, on the other hand, states that the required files have been handed over.

Now a new version has turned up: Important files disappeared en route from East Berlin's Normannenstrasse, the seat of the former Stasi [State Security Service] Ministry, to the GDR Central Office of Criminal Investigations in the building of the Interior Ministry in Mauerstrasse. They disappeared on a route that takes about 20 minutes by car. This was learned by the West Berlin authorities from other sources.

Paetzold: "Interior Minister Diestel has to accept being asked whether he is willing to do everything to clear up crimes in which former SED [Socialist Unity party of Germany] leaders or Stasi members were involved or whether he continues to permit old comrades and Stasi groups to do what they want in his Ministry."

The attack on the "La Belle" discotheque, which was frequented primarily by Americans, killed three people and injured about 200 on 5 April 1986. The attack is blamed on the Libyan People's Bureau which operated from East Berlin.

According to findings by the West Berlin investigation authorities, the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, and the judiciary, there are three comprehensive Stasi files on the "La Belle" attack. One called "Lux," another one called "Box," and a third one with the name "Ashur." Only the "Lux" file, which consists of about 2,000 pages, was recently available for reading by a West Berlin public prosecutor. He also received part of the documents, but he noted that certain parts were missing and seals had been broken.

The "Lux" file deals with the events directly before and after the attack. "Ashur" deals with the murder of 21-year-old Lebanese Mohammed Ashur [name as published]. Three weeks after the "La Belle" attack he was found shot to death in a car in East Berlin's Treptow Park. Ashur reportedly knew too much about the attackers, who were temporarily arrested by the Stasi but were released again at orders from the top.

The West Berlin authorities consider the allegedly disappeared "Box" file as particularly important because it comprehensively deals with the Libyan People's Bureau. This file and the "Ashur" file, which have so far not been accessible to the Western judiciary, are also said to contain hand-written notes by Honecker, which prove that the then State Council chairman knew about the preparations for the attack and ordered the Stasi not to do anything to prevent it. Notes made by former Stasi Minister Mielke, who is currently in prison, were found in the "Lux" file.

Arrest warrants have been issued for six suspected "La Belle" attackers. One of them, a 32-year-old Lebanese, was arrested in Berlin at the end of July. Now he has been released again. Without the "Box" file, the evidence is too thin.

Low Radioactivity Near Nuclear Plants Reported

AU2908122690 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 24 Aug 90 p 1

["W.H.-NZ" report: "Radiation Very Low"]

[Text] East Berlin—The measuring and supervision of the levels of radioactivity near nuclear power plants, in mining areas, and throughout GDR territory have yielded a satisfying result concerning the amount of radiation to which the population is exposed. This is said in the 1989 annual report on environmental radioactivity, in which the State Office for Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection notes that the legally prescribed threshold levels have not just been observed but that actual levels were generally far lower.

At a news conference on topical questions of radiation protection, Eckhard Ettenhuber stated that no case is known in which the limits have been exceeded. The studies of the strain on the environment caused by natural and artificial radiation sources have shown, for instance, that coal power plants and nuclear facilities have the same values, measured in the millisievert system (mSv), which are 0.002 mSv or even lower. However, there is a certain pent-up demand concerning safety technology.

Radiation doses of 1.0 to 1.5 mSv per inhabitant per year, which is valid both for the GDR and the FRG, can be used for comparisons. The dose of radiation is illustrated even better if one takes into consideration that a thorax X-ray causes about 2 mSv of exposure. Radiation levels do not exceed the limits in mining either. Nevertheless, for health considerations, research and investigation measures are carried out in old mining areas and bismuth processing facilities, where radiation levels were kept secret in the past.

Parliament Scheduled To Reconvene 3 Sep

LD2908193490 Budapest MTI in English 1858 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 29 (MTI)—By the end of its session on Wednesday, the Hungarian National Assembly was unable to reach a decision on the bill dealing with the duties of the mayor's office.

While government party groups had called for closing the general debate on the bill, the opposition parties would not accept this, claiming that this would end the possibility of submitting further motions for amendment.

Parliament is to resume session on September 3, Monday.

Ministers Brief Press on Government Session

LD3008223590 Budapest MTI in English 2137 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 30 (MTI)—Before the end of the Hungarian Government's session held in Budapest on Thursday, Interior Minister Balazs Horvath and Peter Akos Bod, minister of industry and trade briefed the national media on the body's session.

Mr Bod said he had briefed government members on the present situation of the country's energy supply. The minister thinks that this year's Soviet oil deliveries may fall short of the scheduled volume by 1.5 million tonnes at worst. Even before this time, he said, Hungary had bought oil from the Middle East and North Africa for dollars, and further imports would probably be needed.

He also told the government that the ministry had worked out a suitable plan aimed at curbing consumption in an emergency. A list had been made of consumes whose supply would be cut. The population comes last in this list, meaning that its supply will only be stopped as a last resort. At the moment, it seems that even if there are a few difficulties, energy supply will be untroubled and there will be no need for restrictions.

The government also discussed the new energy policy plan put forward by the ministry. The plan is to be submitted to the National Assembly in the autumn, following a debate by experts. According to the plan, the country's independence in terms of energy resource acquisition should be gradually increased. To this end, it would be necessary for Hungary to join the West European network. Mr Bod stressed that cutting energy dependency would be an expensive affair, and would probably require some major investments, which would make it inevitable that energy prices be raised.

The government also discussed the plan prepared by the Ministry of Industry and Trade on the restructuring of coal mining. The minister said that enormous debts had accumulated during the past few decades, and today, mining companies were unable to repay these debts. The government decided to set up a reflotation organization which would examine which mines should be closed and which refloated or developed.

Interior Minister Balazs Horvath told the press that the government had discussed and approved the bill on amending the legal decree regarding the employment of the professional staff of the armed forces and armed bodies. He added that this would be submitted to parliament without delay. Under the bill, town and country police chiefs will run for positions, simultaneously or following the local elections.

On the basis of a motion by the minister of justice, the government will propose that the National Assembly should set up a committee in charge of investigating the responsibility of people who had held political functions in the past. The political responsibility investigative committee will not be allowed to apply sanctions, and its activity will be confined to stating political responsibility.

The decision on setting up the committee should be taken by parliament, and it would also be up to MPS to define the level and depth the committee should be allowed to go to when stating responsibility. Political responsibility does not only involve public, but also economic, activity.

According to the communique forwarded by the government spokesman's office to MTI on Thursday evening, the government session on Thursday was chaired by Interior Minister Balazs Horvath, in the absence of the prime minister.

The government will propose that parliament should set up a political responsibility investigative committee in charge of determining the responsibility of leading state, party and economic officials of the former regime. Under the proposal, the members and chairman of the committee would be appointed from the members of parliament. The committee's authority would also extend to examining the financial standing of former leaders.

In order to make the Ministry of the Interior more civilian, eliminate its armed service character, and redefine ministry work as civilian, the government is to submit a related bill to parliament. The new provision would also make for adopting a competitive system in appointing chief police commissioners and deputy commissioners.

The government reviewed once more the question of how to deal with former workers' militia real estates and confirmed that they would be sold via competition.

The government appointed Gabor Barat as deputy head of the National Social Security Main Directorate as of September 1, 1990.

Energy Price Increases Considered 'Essential'

LD3008200890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] The Hungarian Government considers it essential to raise energy prices; according to Peter Akos Bod, this is the only way that energy dependence can be reduced. Following the government session, the minister of industry and commerce said that Soviet oil deliveries might fall behind the plan by as much as 1.5 million tonnes this year. Only as a last resort, however, can there be any question of restricting supply to the population, the minister stressed. In the case of coal prices, the determining factor will be the cost of coal procured abroad for use by the population, excluding transport costs. Mr. Bod announced that the price increase is expected to improve the profitability of mining enterprises, although—in parallel with this—all state support will cease. On the basis of a government decision, an economic rehabilitation organization will be established, which will examine which mines have to be shut down because of accumulated debts. Even so, it will, in any event, be necessary for the budget to write off a proportion of the debts.

Economic State Secretary Briefs Press on Trade

LD3008195290 Budapest MTI in English 1810 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 30 (MTI)—While the convertible-accounting balance of payments in Hungarian foreign trade currently has a surplus of over 600 million dollars, the rouble-accounting turnover shows a deficit of 160 million roubles.

No agreement has been reached with the Soviet Union on a number of important trade issues.

The Hungarians lodged a 500-million-mark compensation claim with Germany, after the GDR failed to meet interstate contracts.

The first genuine negotiations with the European Economic Community are due soon.

These were the major items revealed in the press briefing given by Janos Martonyi, state secretary at the Ministry of International Economic Relations, dealing with the developments in Hungary's foreign economic relations during the past seven months.

The 600-million-dollar surpluses come at the same time as a 16 per-cent rise in exports and stagnating imports.

The 160-million-rouble deficit in the rouble-accounting trade balance includes a Hungarian surplus of 110 million roubles against the Soviet Union, as well as a further 782 million roubles in Hungarian surpluses left over from last year. It is feared that the Soviet side will not be able to repay its debts all in one go.

The GDR's surpluses are currently put at 150 million roubles, which might even reach 200 million by the end of the year. The state secretary thinks it is out of the question that Hungary will be able to repay this amount in convertible currency.

The briefing also addressed the issue of the uninterrupted flow of foreign capital into Hungary. In the second quarter of the year, the ministry issued 20-25 per cent more permits than in previous months, and the number of applications continues to be on the up and up, with 200 requests currently awaiting decisions.

The state secretary finally said that because of the severe drought, Hungary will have to import corn fodder at a price of 70-80 million dollars, which could mean that the balance shows a deficit of 100 million dollars because of the damage to agriculture.

The combination of missing Soviet oil deliveries and the rising world market price of oil will lead to extra expenses of 200 million dollars for Hungary.

Still, if the current favourable trend continues, Hungary can hope to acccumulate 1,000 million dollars in surpluses by the end of the year.

Drought Causes 'Catastrophic' Losses

LD3008153390 Budapest MTI in English 1510 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 30 (MTI)—Leaders of the National Association of Agricultural Co-operative Farmers and Producers described the drought damage as catastrophic in their Thursday briefing on crop estimates.

The value of drought-related damage currently amounts to nearly 50,000 million forints. Given the emergency situation, the association proposed ways of reducing producers' losses, such as accelerated reorganization, and a minimum of 4,000 million forints to support loss-making co-operatives.

MTI Runs Government Statement on Land Issue

LD3008211390 Budapest MTI in English 1927 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 30 (MTI)—The Hungarian news agency was authorized to publish the following statement given by the government:

In the course of the debate on the settlement of land ownership relations, several statements have been issued in the past few months, causing agricultural producers to feel unsure of the government's intentions.

The government would like to use this opportunity to declare its final proposals for the settlement of the land issue: These are that it will guarantee ownership or retention of land to those who are capable of its most efficient cultivation under the given circumstances, and who are interested in preserving and improving the fertility of the land in the long run.

Our goal is to use all legal means to keep agricultural production continuous, so that the country's population receives proper supplies, and exports, vital for the national economy, are maintained at appropriate levels.

These are the principles which the government has sworn to adhere to in the course of preparing its law on the settlement of land ownership rights.

Therefore, the government requests agricultural concerns and individual producers to carry out harvest tasks and preliminary work forming the basis of next year's harvest on time, and with the same competence as in previous years.

In the course of settling land ownership rights, the government will create the legal safeguards to ensure that the fruits of labour are fairly distributed amongst those who sweated to produce them.

Bela Kadar Interviewed on 1995 World Exhibition

AU3008161490 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Aug 90 p 9

[Interview with International Economic Relations Minister Bela Kadar by Zsuzsa Gal; place and date not given: "1995 World Exhibition—Bela Kadar on Capital To Be Imported"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] There has been no final decision yet whether Budapest really is willing to organize the 1995 World Exhibition together with Vienna—that will depend on the standpoint Parliament is expected to take during its autumn session. The government, however, recently created a coordinating committee to harmonize the preparatory work of the various ministries. We asked the chairman of the committee, Dr. Bela Kadar, whether it was correct to assume that the organizing of the world exhibition would multiply the amount of capital imported?

[Kadar] That assumption is correct. When the government followed my suggestion and decided to speed up the preparations, it took that factor into account. Nevertheless, the kind of capital we wish to import within the framework of the exhibition differs in its nature from the usual type of capital invested in ventures; this capital will focus on the infrastructure, and particularly on transportation and the information network. If we really organize a large-scale world exhibition—which requires $8 million in capital—then the infrastructural developments we would have otherwise achieved by the turn of the century would be brought forward by five or seven years. Given that the state can only participate on a symbolic plane, the world exhibition will depend on the success of our efforts to gather international involvement.

[Gal] Does that mean that if we cannot gather the necessary capital, we cannot organize the world exhibition, either?

[Kadar] There is a more modest alternative to the world exhibition, namely, a smaller exhibition, which would involve the corresponding work on landscaping, urban development and infrastructural developments. In that case, the cultural aspects, the political message of the world exhibition, and the demonstration of Hungary's development would come to the fore, whereas the mobilizing strength generated by the organization of an exhibition would become secondary.

[Gal] There is worry that the world exhibition will draw funds from a budget which is already showing a severe deficit.

[Kadar] It may well be that, for two or three years, the organization of the world exhibition will somewhat increase our budgetary expenses, and some people may find that a crime. Nevertheless, in the light of the growth rate and the resulting surplus we can expect from the world exhibition, the expenses do not compare. A certain frame of mind is required to realize that, and, so far, only a few economists in Hungary have seen things that way. Even during the last few years of monetary approach, there has been no room for a strategic way of thinking which would show how the regular use of different forms of development could lead to improved results in the country's economy. In that respect, the opposition to the world exhibition becomes understandable. Hopefully, the rediscovery of the world will enable professional circles and individuals to learn about truths they were not familiar with before.

Skubiszewski Declares 'Solidarity' With Kuwait

LD3008122290 Warsaw PAP in English 1117 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—Minister of State Fahd al-Hassawi, Kuwait's special envoy, paid a two-day visit to Poland. Asked by the RZECZPOSPOLITA daily to comment on the visit, Poland's Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said, among other things:

"I talked for over 50 minutes with the representative of Kuwait's emir. I presented Poland's stand on the armed conflict between Iraq and Kuwait, which came as a result of Iraq's invasion. I told him Poland was particularly sensitive to all cases of solving international conflicts through means other than peaceful, by resorting to armed force. This case is exceptionally grave because we are not only dealing with an armed conflict, but the occupation of the territory of a foreign state and an attempt to liquidate it through annexation. We do not recognize these acts, we strictly abide by the resolutions of the U.N. Security Council which are binding for us as a member of the United Nations and serve the goals which Kuwait has set for itself, namely restoring the state from before the Iraqi attack.

"I next pointed to the serious losses which Poland is suffering as a result of this conflict. I suggested that the Kuwaiti Government consider the possibility of certain moves to make up for these losses, as least partially."

"I assess this visit positively. It think that contact between Poland and Kuwait was necessary. It showed our solidarity with a state which was attacked, something inadmissable from every point of view of international law, international morality and political requirements, that is from the point of view of preserving peace in this very strategic region of the world where various conflicts are plentiful anyway. Were the state of Iraq's armed dominance over Kuwait to continue this would be a very significant threat to peace because it could lead to an expansion of conflict," Skubiszewski concluded.

Mazowiecki To Discuss Problems With Ryzhkov

LD3008180290 Warsaw PAP in English 1449 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki will hold bilateral talks with his Soviet counterpart Nikolay Ryzhkov during a conference of prime ministers form Baltic states, to take place in Sweden on September 2-3.

The talks will focus on Poland's indebtedness to the Soviet Union and the fact that the USSR does not fulfill its obligations concerning deliveries of crude oil to Poland, government spokesman Malgorzata Niezabitowski told a press conference here today.

South Africa's Buthelezi on Visit to Poland

Discusses African National Congress

MB3008134090 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1156 GMT 30 Aug 90

[SAPA PR Wire Service: Issued by Chief Minister's Office, Ulundi]

[Text] Warsaw, Thursday [dateline as received]—Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi told Polish leaders here today that peace and prosperity for all southern Africa depended on the ANC [African National Congress] abandoning its winner-takes-all politics.

He was commenting on the current South African situation during separate discussions with Polish Foreign Minister Dr. K. Skubiszewski and Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski, chairman of the Alliance Centrum Party and editor-in-chief of SOLIDARITY weekly.

South Africa had the potential to reconcile its race groups in the process of solving its problems peacefully and at the same time laying the foundations for a maximally productive economy, Dr. Buthelezi said.

His Inkatha Freedom Party's first choice for a new constitution would be a Westminster-style model, but it recognised that this system's "stark majoritarianism" would drive white voters into far-right camps, leading to a powerful white constituency capable of destroying all prospects of a negotiated settlement.

Inkatha was therefore prepared to compromise and look at a federal or a Swiss canton system or whatever system that worked in the western civilised world—and it was prepared for a bill of rights with minority cultural group protection.

The ANC would have to follow suit and move towards the centrist position that Inkatha had always followed. It would also have to abandon its socialist tendencies, its commitment to violence and its deeply ingrained drive to be the rulers of a one-party state.

The only way forward was for the ANC now to do what it was opposed to doing. It had to reject the concept of an interim government and would also have to abandon its demand for the state president's abdication.

"Throughout southern Africa there has been liberation from politics without liberation from poverty, ignorance and disease following political liberation," Dr. Buthelezi told the foreign minister.

"Victory in South Africa against apartheid must change all this. Many millions across southern Africa depend on the right thing happening in South Africa."

Meets With Skubiszewski

LD3108101290 Warsaw PAP in English 2335 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—A delegation of South African Inkatha Freedom Party led by its chairman Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi came to Poland today.

According to plans, the delegation was supposed to fly to Leningrad tomorrow to take part in a human rights conference organized by "Solidarity" and Sajudis of Lithuania. The Soviet Embassy in Warsaw denied an entry visa for Mr. Buthelezi who will go to Gdansk instead. Today he informed journalists about the present situation in South Africa and outlined the origins of conflicts in that country.

I was received by Deputy Senate Speaker Andrzej Wielowieyski and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski today, he said. I'm deeply impressed by their personalities. Both conversations were held in pleasant atmosphere filled with understanding. We talked about both, South African and Polish problems, the problems of my party and "Solidarity." I hope these talks will add to the development of our relations, he told PAP.

The conference in Leningrad will be attended by a number of famous specialists and activists of human rights movements. A Polish 200-strong delegation is led by Senator Zbigniew Romaszewski, president of the Senate Human Rights Committee. Lech Walesa has also accepted invitation to the conference.

News Conference Assesses Current Issues

LD3008212290 Warsaw PAP in English 1837 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—"There is a big chance that during celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the formation of Solidarity Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki will meet face-to-face with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa," government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska said at today's press conference, held for the first time after vacation.

It would be easier for Solidarity people to celebrate this anniversary in such an atmosphere that was prevailing ten years ago, she added. Niezabitowska regarded divisions existing within Solidarity as normal, however, he condemned their style. Demogogy and cheap populism are harmful for Poland, she said.

At the conference, attended also by Finance Vice-Minister Wojciech Misiag, newsmen mainly asked about Poland's presence at the coming Baltic conference, Polish losses resulting from the U.N. embargo on Iraq, the state of Polish-German talks, dismantling of monuments erected in gratitude to the Soviet Army, a petrol price rise and a political debate in the parliament.

Mazowiecki-Ryzhkov Meeting to be Held in Sweden soon

In reply to PAP journalist's question concerning a conference of heads of governments of Baltic states, to take place in Ronneby, Sweden, between Sept. 2 and 3, Niezabitowska stated that a bilateral meeting between Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and his Soviet counterpart Nikolay Ryzhkov was expected to be held there.

The talks will focus on the issue of Polish debt towards the Soviet Union and the Soviet side's delays in oil deliveries to Poland. The Polish side will also touch upon Poland's food exports to the USSR and conditions of their crediting and also a "mild transition" from Comecon [CMEA] prices to world market ones in the purchase of Soviet raw materials and fuels by this country as of January 1, 1991, the government spokesman told newsmen.

Niezabitowska stressed that initiators of the conference of Baltic states (Poland and Sweden) strived for the participation in it of separate delegations of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Russia. She informed newsmen that the conference was expected to adopt a declaration on prevention of dramatic ecological degradation of the Baltic Sea and preparing programmes of cooperation in transport, communications and fishery between states situated at the Baltic seaside.

Polish Losses in Iraq

Commenting on Poland's following the U.N. resolution imposing an embargo on trade contacts with Iraq, Niezabitowska said that the already known sum of 170 million dollars was only an approximate estimation of initial Polish losses suffered as a result of the purchase of 750 thousand tonnes of oil from other suppliers.

So far Poland has also lost 115 million dollars in export revenues and stopped deliveries of goods to Iraq under earlier signed contracts.

Under estimates made already now Poland will lose further 287.8 million dollars as the total cost of breaking service contracts, 215 million dollars as a result of suspension of trade negotiations and 1 bilion 300.5 million dollars in expected contracts for rendering services, chiefly construction—assembly ones, to Iraq.

The losses of Polish enterprises and employees in Kuwait, in, for instance, bank deposits, may reach 10 million dollars.

Niezabitowska stated that Poland had turned—on the bilateral plane—to Western states and to the E.C. Commission (coordinator of the aid of 24 states for Poland) to compensate for those losses.

She said that the Polish request had met with a favourable response and that at the moment an official memorandum of the Polish Government was being worded in this respect. She voiced hope that Poland would receive compensation for those losses.

Polish-German Talks

To date talks on economic cooperation between Poland and Germany have not satisfied the Polish side, Niezabitowska told newsmen and stated that the German sides made those talks a "propaganda factor." The Polish government proposed to resume economic talks on Sept. 10-11.

As for talks on a border treaty, Niezabitowska expressed fears whether they would start in September because of the coming unification of Germany. However, she added that immediately after the unification the treaty in question should be "swiftly negotiated and signed."

She presumed that visas would be required in tourist traffic on the border with united Germany in the beginning. Still, Poland aims at maximum liberalization in this field, she added.

Incident in Zgorzelec

Niezabitowska considered an incident that had taken place in Zagorzelec, western Poland, when several dozen young GDR citizens had invaded the Polish territory, chanting nationalist slogans, as intolerable. In the future we will absolutely firmly react to such violations of the border, Niezabitowska told newsmen.

When Will Soviet Troops Withdraw from Poland?

In reply to this question Niezabitowska recalled the government's unequivocal stand on the necessity to pull out those forces shortly but she conditioned the withdrawal date on the results of negotiations now being prepared and the establishment of a European security system. She also recalled that more Soviet units were being successively withdrawn from this country.

Dismantling of Soviet Monuments

Niezabitowska termed cases of the desecration of graves of Soviet soldiers or their removal as alien to Polish culture rooted in Christianity. The government stance is unambiguous in this respect: Those soldiers died for this country and we should respect them. The spokeswoman voiced hope that self-government communes which decided about relocation of graves or dismantling monuments erected in gratitude to Soviet soldiers would take the stand of the government into consideration.

The Most Tight Border in Europe

Niezabitowska voiced regret over the fact that, owing to resistance on the part of Czechoslovakia's economic ministries, even the so-called small border traffic had not been restored yet. She thought it to be a paradox that the Polish-Czechoslovak border was the most tight in Europe instead of being most open at the moment.

Mazowiecki on Petitions Concerning Presidency

Asked about the premier's attitude towards collecting signatures (by the Centre Agreement, among others) under petittions demanding from Jaruzelski to resign from the office of the president, Niezabitowska said that Tadeusz Mazowiecki did not voice his stance on this issue.

Petrol Price Rise

Misiag confirmed reports on a nearly 30-percent petrol price rise. In his opinion the rise should not contribute to a considerable increase in inflation rate in September (estimated to reach 2-3 percent).

The rise was introduced as a result of the Soviet Union's delays in oil deliveries (so far that country has supplied only 50 percent of the total amount of oil it has been obliged to deliver) and the situation developed by Iraqi war actions, that is a big increase in world oil prices.

Is Unemployment Massive?

Denying a suggestion included in this question, Misiag stated that sad was the fact that it was not related to bankruptcy of enterprises. He admitted that at the end of the year the number of unemployed may reach 1.3 million. He denied statements that in early 1990 the government had estimated this figure to mount to 400 thousand. He called the changing figure of unemployment as a normal effect of the Stabiliation programme.

Gov't on Political Debate in Sejm

The government intends to join a political debate in the Sejm in the second half of September, Niezabitowska stated. In this context she recalled the recent expose of the premier in the Sejm in which Mazowiecki had presented the government stance on political developments in the country.

Other Issues

Niezabitowska informed newsmen that the Polish Foreign Ministry pursued the personnel policy basing on competent and possibly best prepared diplomats (in connection with controversies in Polonian communities in the U.S. in relation to newly appointed consuls in New York and Chicago).

She said that the Polish Embassy in Kuwait would operate as long as it was possible.

The spokeswoman announced that at the nearest sitting of the Sejm the premier would propose candidatures for two ministerial posts (agriculture and communications).

She said that a report by the RZECZPOSPOLITA paper on the new president of the Polish Press Agency was too early—new nominations in PAP would be announced in early September.

Niezabitowska told newsmen that the government opposed the draft law on liquidation of employees' allotments, put forward by a group of 17 deputies.

Mazowiecki, Industry Minister at Gdansk Meeting

Mazowiecki Arrives at Airport

LD3008152590 Warsaw PAP in English 1458 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 30—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki arrived in Gdansk at 1 p.m. where he is to meet with workers from the Gdansk region in the afternoon.

The prime minister was welcomed at the local airport by representatives of voivodship and Solidarity authorities and the clergy. From the airport, the premier went to the Gdansk shipyard where he is holding a meeting with members of the yard's board.

Mazowiecki Addresses Workers

LD3008163190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1240 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Address by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki to Gdansk shipyard workers meeting—live]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen. I am pleased that I can be here among you, at the invitation of the enterprise commissions, [words indistinct]. I would very much like this meeting of ours to be a more direct conversation between us. I have ministers here with me—Minister Syryjczyk [of industry], Minister Kuron [of Labor and Social Policy], Minister Ambroziak [chief of the Council of Ministers Office], Minister Hall [for contact with political parties], and Minister Kuczynski. We have all come here also in connection with tomorrow's anniversary. I think, as regards more detailed problems or questions directed to the government, I would also like the ministers to reply and I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to raise issues which you regard as most important.

For my part, I would like to say that mutual understanding is very important to me. We can only build, transform, and reorganize Poland in the difficult situation of today on the basis of mutual understanding; where else but precisely here, in this hall, where, after all, we fought together for common causes so that Poland could develop as a democratic country? It is precisely here in this hall, despite differences of outlook or assessments of certain more concrete issues—because the government has to see things from the point of view of the whole country and the whole economy, and it is understandable that the point of view of a trade union or an individual worker can, and is entitled to, differ. I believe that, nowhere else but precisely in this hall, should we try to make the maximum effort on all sides to mutually understand each other?

Nothing hurts more than when the government's good intentions are undermined, not when it is reproached with certain facts or transgressions which can, after all, occur and are natural. Ladies and gentlemen, I believe that Poland is presently at the point of crossing a very stormy river—a very difficult and stormy river—and that we cannot make mistakes during this crossing. We must move forward consistently, but this really is very difficult.

Everyone admits in theory that no one has traveled down this road from a central, planned economy to a market economy; that this is a very difficult [word indistinct]; that Poland is a pioneering country. Everyone admits this in theory, but when it comes to understanding particular difficult issues, it is hard to reach this understanding.

We are in the process of making this journey in both economic and political affairs. The political geography of Europe—both to the east and west of Poland—has changed considerably, and continues to change to a considerable degree. We are faced with various problems, including difficult future economic problems—for example, those tied to the move to the dollar exchange rate with the Soviet Union, and those tied to the issue of our economic relation with that part of Germany which, up to now, has been the GDR.

None of these things will be achieved without certain difficult consequences to our country. Well, I am convinced that, amid these stormy transformations, Poland has the chance to occupy a very important place in the newly forming Europe.

I believe that, during this year, we have traveled down a very long road. We have succeeded in certain fundamental matters, while others are still in progress. I am thinking of a very important problem which has not yet entirely been solved. That is, of course, the stopping—the halting—of inflation. Its reduction continues to be a fundamental problem, basically a condition of the recovery of the Polish economy. Furthermore, I believe that following the passing of the privatization laws, we are facing a very big and exceptionally difficult problem in implementing this privatization. Next, I think that we have to change some of our laws to create greater scope for foreign capital investment in Poland; this is dependent to an enormous degree on Poland being perceived as a stable country.

We have, after all, a whole array of declarations from Western countries and states guaranteeing credits for Poland—not for the Polish Government, but giving credit guarantees to Western businesses. It is a question of them also wanting to use this. [word indistinct] it will be better.

The (?solution) to that, in order to turn take advantage all those credit guarantees, is also a very important condition. I am talking about this because precisely 10 years ago, in this hall, the general national point of view was always taken into consideration; I think that it will also be taken into consideration now.

I also know about the difficult problems of the shipyard. We have discussed that today and we spoke about it

when the Factory Commission was with us. I think that those or other problems will certainly be raised here during the discussion.

I would like to say that we—as the government—have been interested in the matters really since January, because before then they were supposed to have been solved otherwise. I know that the shortage of workers is an important and very difficult problem at the shipyard. Workers are leaving, and I know what led to that. That is why we are urgently applying for a special legal regulation for the shipyard—for the Sejm to agree to make shares available free of charge to employees who have remained in the shipyard. We could not do this any other way; we are restricted by legal regulations here. If there were any earlier promises or suggestions of some kind, they could not have been arranged otherwise. This is due to the fact that the Sejm has changed the regulations of the Privatization Law, thereby excluding the possibility of making shares available without payment. That is why we had no other solution but to draft a special Sejm law, which should close this matter on behalf—above all—of removing the moral and calculable—as people see it—results of the decision to liquidate the shipyard, which (?was clearly) assessed by the Sejm as a political decision.

Thus, such a draft has been sent to the Sejm by the Council of Ministers, and I hope that at the next sitting—probably on 13 September—that draft will be examined and, I think, accepted. I also think that this problem should close this period of great difficulties for the shipyard; that those difficulties in a new organizational form will be overcome by the shipyard. Because when world competition returns for the shipbuilding industry there are chances, after all, for the shipyard to become a modern and vital enterprise; a manufacturing enterprise; an enterprise with a future. Such a chance can be clearly seen on the horizon today.

I would like to say that I think that act should close that period of fundamental difficulties and in this new organizational form the shipyard should begin to cope.

As I have already said, we came here to talk to you, and I ask you very sincerely to take the floor. We are going to reply to what you say. Thank you.

Mazowiecki Views Apathy, Political Change

LD3008220690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1426 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Answers to questions by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki at meeting with Gdansk Shipyard workers—live]

[Text] [Reporter] During the speeches made by Tadeusz Syryjczyk and Jacek Kuron we could see that the [Gdansk shipyard] meeting's participants were approaching the table at which Prime Minister Mazowiecki is sitting and putting questions. Now it seems that the prime minister is going to answer them.

[Mazowiecki] It was said here, in the form of a complaint against the government: The first problem is the problem of social apathy for which people here, and not only here, are holding the government responsible.

Ladies and gentlemen, I wish that we would be fair here in this hall. Who will fairly assess this problem, which is a great problem in Poland: the matter of the co-involvement of people in what is happening in Poland is a fundamental issue. I said a year ago in my first Sejm speech: Freedom, security and the involvement of people, and I see this at the moment as the most important issue, all the time, the problem of involvement. But this problem is very difficult to solve. So he who would fairly assess this year and the work done by the government toward this involvement cannot reproach the government for this lack of involvement and for this apa[illegible].

What would you all say, you Solidarity activists who are gathered here, if I, in turn, should say: And Solidarity? Why is it that Solidarity which was once a 10 million strong group is today smaller? After all there are some objective reasons for this, there are objective reasons for the fact that the enthusiasm of those days, the situation which obtained then cannot be recreated now. Neither is this government capable of recreating that situation; people are finding living more difficult, they retreat into their own personal problems. This change has not come in the form of a single explosion; it is made up of many factors. But to make this into a reproach—this can only be done if one should make a fair assessment of it, and it is a matter not just of the government but of the whole of society, and in various parts of this society's life, and also that of Solidarity —one could talk about the causes which bring about this social situation. Snatching people out of this apathy, the creation of an impulse toward involvement—this is a great common task. One cannot make this reproach to just one side because—in my opinion—that would be dishonest and unjust.

That was the first point. The second one is the matter of the timetable of political changes. This government has not been, is not, and will not be one to hold back political changes. If the government is being reproached, for example, because after the dissolution of the Polish United Workers Party it did not draw the right conclusions, then, first of all, [it should be remembered that] those who are making these reproaches were also in this country and did not put forward these matters at that time. Second, it [the government] did draw conclusions, since it speeded up the self-management elections. It speeded up the reform of the Ministry of Internal Affairs—a most fundamental reform. It speeded up changes in the composition of the government, changes in the Army, in the prosecutor's office. We are also fully in support of speeding up the success of political changes. But we try to speed things up not by words but by deeds. We support the setting up of a timetable of further changes.

We are fully in support of this. This is something the Sejm is going to be dealing with, and I hope that we shall be doing this in such an atmosphere of political culture as was rightly called for—and with which I completely agree—in the statement by Lech Walesa.

Thank you. [applause]

Mazowiecki on TV Recording Rights

LD3008214590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 30 Aug 90

[From live broadcast of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki meeting with Gdansk shipyard workers]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Jerzy Borowczak, deputy chairman of Gdansk Shipyard Committee of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity] I would like to start by asking the prime minister—I have not managed to contact the radio committee—Mr. Prime Minister, this is our request: We have agreed with Gdansk television that it can be here at today's meeting that the tapes it is recording be transmitted from Gdansk to Warsaw, and not sent to Warsaw for Warsaw to transmit whatever it wants. So, I would like to request you, prime minister, to intervene with President Drawicz not to order Gdansk television to send the tapes to Warsaw immediately. Could the prime minister intervene through one of his ministers, so that this order is not gvien, because it is (?invalid). We must have the certainty that this material will be broadcast to Poland from Gdansk.

Ladies and gentlemen, give the prime minister a moment to consider, because these are independent institutions-...Gdansk television is supposed to be too, but even so....

[Reporter] The meeting at Gdansk shipyard's BHP hall has been in progress for two and a half hours now.

[Borowczak] Mr. Prime Minister, we would like to hear the answer that the material will stay in Gdansk, and Warsaw will get it, i.e. Gdansk television will broadcast it from Gdansk to Poland, or local TV stations. The cassettes, however, should be at the disposal of Gdansk television, not Warsaw.

[Mazowiecki] I have nothing against that, although I must tell you that it seems to me that according to the normal custom, I should have been told earlier that you intend to transmit this meeting. You did not do that; but go ahead and transmit it.

[Borowczak] Mr. Prime Minister, we do not intend to transmit it in its entirety. This was not the decision. The point for us is that if something is to be put out on this meeting—we do not demand that here today—we want Gdansk television to be in control of the cassettes.

[Mazowiecki] That is a matter for television. It does not matter to me. All right, let Gdansk television have control, but I am not the one to decide that. But if you want my opinion, go ahead.

[Borowczak] I think, Mr. Prime Minister, that you could consult—if not you, one of the ministers—with Minister Drawicz [words indistinct], so that the cassettes remain in Gdansk.

[Mazowiecki] Yes, but there is no transmission at the moment, so it can be settled later, can it not?

[Borowczak] I (?have asked) Gdansk television not to send the cassettes to Warsaw. Later, after the meeting, we will come to an agreement with you or with Minister Drawicz on where the cassettes will be and where they will be transmitted from. Thank you. Let us pass on to the questions. [passage omitted]

Industry Minister Addresses Workers

LD3008224190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1330 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Address by Industry Minister Tadeusz Syryjczyk to Gdansk shipyard workers meeting—live]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, many words of criticism addressed to the government have been heard here, as well as—above all—justified words saying human patience is increasingly exhausted. These words conveyed that it is ever more difficult to cope with self-denial, and that everyone is waiting for an answer as to when things will finally get better—when the change of government will bring results. And the point was also made that laws and (?gestures) should end, and the creation of concrete facts should begin. Ladies and gentlemen, we must be aware of one fundamental fact: We are a poor country, and this poverty is a result, first of all, of the manufacturing capital which we possess; second, of the fact that we have bad forms of organization; third, that for these 40 years, a poor economic system developed which shaped the [word indistinct] of the economy in this way.

These are all material (?processes) which manifest themselves in the shape of building construction, enterprise construction, and the development of these branches of industry. We can soon begin to reverse these material conditions of our poverty and of our difficulties. We can plan this precisely by changing laws, by shaping new political and social structures. The fabric, however, will not change; it is highly resistant. Similarly, people will not change quickly.

You say, ladies and gentlemen, that the old cadres remain, that vodka continues to flow, that nothing has changed, and that people continue to be afraid. Ladies and gentlemen, at the moment, apart from armaments firms, directors everywhere are to all intents and purposes nominated by worker's councils; in the majority of cases, competitive boards also appoint workers' councils. I have a huge grievance here against my colleague from Gdynia shipyard, who spoke of competition, and presented this problem in such a light as if [to say] that it was precisely the ministry that supported the old nomenklatura. I am so sorry. Three days ago I received a phone

call from Mr. Borusewicz, who proceeded to tell me what was given to which of the members of the competitive board—appointed by the workers' council—by the candidate for director. And so, if we are talking about certain factors in the corruption of people, let us not talk about intimidation, that (?people are now afraid). Ladies and gentlemen, let us not kid ourselves. Ladies and gentlemen, here in particular, no one has been afraid probably for a long time. But let us state clearly: If the workers' council, elected democratically—(?and which can always be recalled at any moment)—is not capable of conducting a proper competitition—accepted by the public on the spot—then I cannot believe that even the best minister and the best ministry can do this better from a distance. Maybe this is the way it should be done. Personally, I happen not to be an enthusiast of the self-management solution. I do not really believe that this is the proper method. On the other hand—precisely within the present legal context—when the government's involvement in the nomination of directors is restricted to a minimum and when, for our part, protests against dismissals occur in one or two percent of cases, perhaps we should not be directing grievances of this type to the government after all. I admit, however, that this is not the first case of its kind. Cases occur where solidarity [word indistinct] workers' council differently, but we fought for democracy. Let us now be capable of winning our case within the democratic framework, if we believe it to be justified.

Let us turn now to individual specific matters. Quite a lot of them have accumulated, so I apologize right now if—because of this—I have to speak somewhat longer—I would like to answer everything as precisely as possible. Your basic complaint against us is that we are exclusively for fiscal policy—about finances, about reducing inflation as much as possible and that we do not think about other things. Well, the point is that, so far, no one has invented a way in which one can simultaneously create development and halt inflation in the same country and out of the same budget.

The tax system in Poland generally is, in my belief—and this can be checked as far as the figures are concerned—one of the more liberal ones. There exists a tax on unexpeted wage increases, which is—this is true—a bad thing, and we know this very well. It is a cannon which fires against friends. On one hand it fires at the enemy when there is inflation, but on the other hand, the shrapnel from it kills the chances for development in many enterprises. We know all this and, for the first six months, we purposefully did not make any changes nor did we give in in this matter. I believe, however, that despite all this one cannot say that nothing has changed. Surely a situation in which this inflation in its most virulent form has been curbed is an achievement of this government and an achievement for society, which carried the burdens necessary to get there. Furthermore, one always sees that which hurts one and bothers one, and it is much more difficult to notice that which is normal and which should always be so. But in my belief—as much from the viewpoint of the foreign capital of which you speak, from the viewpoint of the stability of family life, from the viewpoint of the stability of the farmer—a more or less sensible currency—for we do not yet have a hard currency—but a more or less sensible currency is the foundation of the whole economy and we will not regret this policy. That is what I believe and, because it is an achievement, it is something which has changed the structure of our life, and in a fundamental way, I think. We must look after this achievement, and we cannot implement other tasks at its expense.

I would also like to say one more important thing that escapes our notice. You stated that enterprises are still bogged down in absurd regulations. I ask you most sincerely—not necessarily at such great occassions as today, but in your daily work—to talk less about absurd regulations, and to point out which ones they are. It is not a straightforward thing observing exclusively from above—from the position of the government—to pick out all the hinderances which characterize the economic crisis in Poland, and what is contained in bureaucratic arrangements which originated in the previous era. There are such regulations which are often not obvious.

Please remember that in the last few months in Poland the forms of distribution have been removed, import has been opened to everyone, everyone has had export possibilities opened up to them. Every enterprise is an independent exporter and importer, with the exception of a few strategic [word indistinct]. Finally, above all, what was, in form and in name, an economy of shortages has disappeared. Are enterprises now short of screws, blades, or other production parts? The basic trends have been reversed. One has to worry—and very seriously worry—about selling something, and that is the concern of the enterprise. But it has ceased to be (?a concern), a running around for individual parts, about particular matters. That is also a worry, as it is a worry for the consumer, that he does not have to join a line in the shop but has to pay more. Money is short for him. The fact of the matter is that those are not comparable worries. The former gives birth to bureaucracy and corruption, running around without any sense.

The other worry is, and can be, creative, because the economies of the most developed countries developed precisely on those worries. It is because the producer has to think about how to sell his work, that he has his problem, his difficulty, that the threat of bankrupcy or difficulties with the sale of his production continually hangs over him. It is precisely due to that that those economies have reached the great potential and possibilities as they have now. It is, however, precisely because there wasn't that worry—there were other worries of another kind—we [word indistinct] and we fell as low as we have in those 40 years. That was precisely the main characteristic of the planned economy and we have departed from it.

I also know that is not a success because it is normal, and normality should never be taken as success. I think,

however, if we are talking to each other quite frankly about many things, that should be said also.

You said that we are not decisive. That is naturally connected to the accepted style of work. Yes, I agree that many laws are created with great difficulty, are created in the course of long discussion, both within the government and later within the Sejm and Parliament. The question is whether we should take any short cuts; whether we have to create the whole state in the (?context) you suggest, if we are to form the habit of creating law which is connected to the immediate problems and difficulties; whether we are to construct a law which has gained consensus within the ambit of the government and the Sejm, and which is already going to be a permanent basis for many years? We have chosen that second path, and we are trying to let those changes—which are being carried out as quickly as possible—happen with more or less permanent changes so that they will not be yet another provisional act, so that they conform to the social and legal standards for the future years.

No one has staked a claim on the liquidation of large firms, nor has anyone banked on specific branches of indsutry collapsing. Many economists and people write to that effect. We have put a stake on the fact that we should have good steelworks, good shipyards, a good electrical industry, a good construction industry, and good agriculture. Good means efficient and productive. We do not want to create a situation—which we have been persuaded to do—to choose an industry which is going to be the engine of progress, to create improved conditions for them at the cost of others and their chance of moving up. Because after all, the so-called branch or sector policy is large, in that form it is specified in advance that in a given country the car industry, food industry, or any other in a given country provides the greatest chance for the consumer. This means that others have to work for it, that the others are deprived of the chance of showing that they can be—in a specific state—the best. We do not want to apply such a policy.

Yes, certainly, state intervention is necessary—the redistribution of incomes between the various regions or branches is necessary—but we only want to do that based on very precise criteria, not only the market but also on an analysis of the level of unemployment, and of the chances of individual regions. We have adopted principles of regional policy, which are: to prevent unemployment where it is, indeed, the most serious, where there are, indeed, neglected regions which are presently in a particularly dangerous situation. (?You ask), ladies and gentlemen, on one hand what we are doing to create jobs for the unemployed, while on the other hand, you complain that there is a manpower shortage. Well, let us be consistent, let us be consistent. The situation in Poland is such: We presently have about four percent of the population unemployed. A country like Belgium, (?which enjoys) great prosperity, has 10 percent unemployment. When—in rich countries like France or Germany—some regions collapsed, unemploymeny rose to 20-25 percent in those regions. We do not know what the figure will be in the GDR as a result of implementing a more rapid and more determined program. This is one incomparable issue between Poland and the GDR. There is a second Germany, there is no second Poland.

A very specific problem linked with government aid to particular plants has been raised. Ladies and gentlemen, that would mean that we would have to subsidize some branches or plants. That would mean, in turn, that we would have to take from someone in order to give to someone else. If we are talking about this sort of thing, then it must be said clearly from whom we are taking, how are we to take it, and will it really be enough? The concept of taking from the rich and distributing to the poor has already been used in many countries, in various places. It did not do much good—it brought common poverty, deeper poverty instead.

I think the issue of determining the exchange rate for the dollar, which one of our colleagues has brought up, is also in sum our achievement and I do not see any reason here for the government to be ashamed of anything.

We have managed to stabilize the dollar exchange rate without resorting to foreign help; this is a very important factor. Thanks to this, the buying potential of the dollar is diminishing in Poland. Work in Poland is, despite everything, more worthwhile than work abroad—although the gap is still great it is no longer that of ten years ago when a monthly wage could be earned in half a day. I believe that this is really a positive factor. I agree, however, that there is a recession; there is a breakdown in production. This stems from the fact that, first, to some extent our industry cannot cope with the competition of other markets. Second, we are not the only ones to undergo reforms. Neighboring countries are also going through reforms (?so we are also going to bear) the burden of these reforms for the very simple reason that we were supliers for these markets; if these countries do not want to buy from us or are not able to buy from us, then, of course, we will feel it and this burden will also, unfortunately, fall upon us.

Against this background there appears the fairly basic problem of foreign capital. I am glad that the majority of those who spoke before me clearly underlined that it is essential for the development of Polish economy. That is the truth. The change of economic structure demands the material restructuring of industry. One can do this either at one's own expense—that is by reducing the consumption of the Polish people even further—and that consumption is already very low, as is shown by the fact that a Pole, at the moment, spends about 60 percent on food. Can one reduce remuneration further? Can one reduce the amount of greenbacks that is being paid out to people? Well, one cannot very well. At the same time there is the rebuilding of the economy, changes in technical equipment, transposing certain enterprises on to a different technology, so that they may be competitive abroad. All of this means a huge investment input.

It has been calculated in the case of the GDR that it needs (?for example) $160 billion. For the FRG this will mean a year, two years of increased effort; for us, it would be quite simply impossible. We are not able to find such money and such means because, after all, they can only be worked for by people. It will be essential, therefore, to consider as a normal thing, that there should be foreign capital—and we shall wish to overthrow any (?bureacratic) barriers.

But, ladies and gentlemen, we appear here in a double role as a state: we are a state and we are also the owners of a fair amount of production means, and we do not mean to lease them for nothing. Some negotiations take a long time and, in my view, there is nothing wrong in this. Of course, it arouses impatience and irritation, but we cannot appear on this international market as a group, as a government which—without any discussion or preliminary conditions—is willing to give away any fortune at any price to anybody just as long as something is happening. Hence, a series of negotiations—not only in the case of [word indistinct] and the Gdynia shipyard—are taking longer.

I shall be very happy to talk about this with Solidarity. Many meetings have already been held on the subject, and I believe that you, ladies and gentlemen, know the conditions that accompany this process. We can, of course, return to this again and again and discuss this contract within our group.

You complain, ladies and gentlemen, that many people busy themselves selling bananas, that many people have gone to work in trade. Of course, one feels some sort of internal revolt that educated people should busy themselves with trade. It also arouses our protests, however, when people who do not know how to trade occupy themselves with trading. Trade and services—in the broadest possible sense—are underdeveloped in Poland. In every average developed country, trade and services create more national income—in percentage terms—than they do here. It is logical that, seeing the great movement that is taking place, trade must expand, and that is how things must begin. And it happens that they begin with a table in the street. So, too bad. Surely it is better that people should begin this way than they should go abroad and seek their fortunes there. So I do not think that one should condemn this process lock, stock, and barrel. One should take care, of course, that this trade should pay taxes, that it should comply with sanitary regulations, but that is precisely the role of the state, to supervise the compliance with particular regulations and laws, but the development itself of the various [word indistinct] trades is, to my mind, on the whole positive.

We fear that stabilization may take place at a low level. We fear, of course, that the recession might last longer. This is not something that we are treating lightly. The point is, ladies and gentlemen, that after the first half-year a certain stabilization has been achieved: That is, production is no longer falling like it used to, quite the contrary, there are branches and enterprises that are experiencing development. We shall also be taking steps—but only within our possibilities—this means that we shall be able to give greater credits to enterprises, that we shall be able to help them buy technology or undertake restructuring. This means that we must tax society for the benefit of this restructuring. As the budget allows us to do this, when we overcome—and we have already overcome this budget deficit which we inherited when we took over the government—the first half-year brought positive results, so that with the end of this first half-year, we have changed this policy, there is now a softer line. [sentence as heard]

You complain that all this is too weak; well, that is because inflation has not been completely overcome. We have alleviated this tax on unexpected wage increases as much as we thought was safe; we inject as much money through the fund of structural (?changes), through the funds of building and trade expansion as we are in a position to do, as much money as we have. We do not want to go back to printing money, and I hope that we do not go back to this and that society will understand that we must not go back to this, that we should not go back.

So the present policy does not limit itself to a fight with inflation, although I admit, of course, that the first six months of this year did concentrate on this very matter. We are tidying up ownership matters, a subject which has been brought up here. At the moment there is a law, which is somewhere between the Sejm and the Senate, aimed at solving the problems of state and community lands. We are enfranchising parishes. This situation should bring both the parishes and the state to a position in which ownership problems will be tidy, clear and easily understood.

As far as privatization is concerned, there are a great many critical opinions regarding the solution which has been accepted. In my view, it is a compromise which must always displease someone but which takes into account the problems which you have mentioned here, ladies and gentlemen. First, it is a fact that the majority of enterprises have arisen out of the labor of the whole nation. After all, for the state to be able to build a new mine or the Katowice steel plant or a whole series of other enterprises, it was not the workers who work there now—and often not for all that long—who contributed to this. The people who worked toward it were the retiree who had a lower pension, the employee who had a lower wage, and the farmer who received lower prices for his produce. The state squeezed this [word indistinct] from the nation and then became an investor, compulsorily. It is different in a market economy, where people voluntarily invest their savings. Here it was done by the state, but the state took the money from everyone. Thus, every citizen now has a right to become a joint owner. We want to also introduce the principle that every citizen will get a share in the ownership of the national production wealth (?without having to pay for it).

There is one problem to solve: What kind of proportion of this wealth should it be? The law envisages such a

solution. We accept the fact that workers and employees of all enterprises take over the enterprises as, to some extent, their property; they have a moral feeling that it should be so, and they have contributed to their development through their work. Thus, there is a certain preference for workers when it comes to purchase. Irrespective of what every citizen has, the worker will have this right to extra purchase, over and above what every citizen will receive out of this 20 percent.

Moreover we want the mentality of society to change. We want people to save not only through the Polish Savings Bank, we want everyone who wishes to do so to save by investing in enterprises, so that our industry and our economy should find their owners—because to tell the truth they are currently nobody's, and that is why they act and have acted as they have.

Of course, ladies and gentlemen, one cannot avoid differences in the financial situation of people.

Every country that has developed has tolerated differences. There is no equality at a high level. Each can have five zloty, or one can have 10 and the other 20. The question is what we will choose and what we prefer. Those who chose total leveling are today living in a wholly bad situation. An inevitable factor of development is differences among people and a situation where there are rich and poor. In any case, there are. Despite appearances, all attempts at socialism and at leveling lead to inequalities, which are based on completely different critieria. Every attempt to remove those inequalities has some sort of negative repercussion, in fact.

You call for a purge of ministries and say they are too big. There are 360 officials at the Ministry of Industry at the moment; the corresponding [ministry] in France has 6,000; in Japan, 9,000. Of course, we are a smaller country, agreed, but, ladies and gentlemen, the French ministry oversees 12 concerns, not 1,700 state enterprises. This is more or less the scale of comparison. Regarding the possibility of changing cadres, this change is taking place; too slowly for some, too quickly for others. The point is that there is no (?special) rush to work in the ministry; plenty of people want an office but not to do the work which decides the quality of the office's activity. When you try to find really qualified employees—lawyers, economists, people fluent in the necessary languages—[words indistinct] the number of candidates is smaller than for the post of deputy minister, for instance, or maybe minister. This is the truth, not just in (?certain) ministries.

However, I agree with one thing: The structure of the government, the structure of ministries, is not totally compatible with the present methods of (?looking at) the economy, and it has to be changed. The question is: How many things can one change at once (?in Poland). Please note: We have changed the state's financial system, the whole budget system. The administrations of all parishes have been changed: 2,400 parishes in Poland. A gradual change in the voivodes cadres is being made. Ninety percent have already been changed, I think. Not everything can be changed at once, in a day. I think that for the period of a year, these changes have to be assessed as just right. Of course, a certain change in structures will have to be prepared, however, and the government has already made an initial statement about that. I do not think, however, that this can take place at a time when we have changed the structure of local administration, at the same time as that.

Certain fixed points must exist, if we are to function effectively at all.

There was a series of questions about why the shipbuilding industry cannot expand its production, with the accusation that it is we who are holding it back. I would like specific instances. I know that the tax on unexpected wage increases hinders the intake of new employees, although (it is not quite like that), because one can take on new employees, for then the wage norm rises. [sentence as heard]. Let us be specific about what the hindrance is. You complain that up to now we do not have an agreement on settling accounts next year. That is true: But it takes two to make an agreement. It takes two to make an agreement. If we are to have an agreement with the Soviet Union, then somebody on that side has to take the agreement too and sign if and has to resolve his own problems. Unfortunately, it also looks very much as if this matter will be delayed. At this moment, anyone who reads the press knows perhaps that there are two concepts of various reforms. By the time they make their way through the machinery of authority in the Soviet Union, by the time the choice of concept is made and it is introduced, of course there will be perturbations. The only thing one can do is warn enterprises: there will be perturbations. There will be [words indistinct]. It will take time, and we will not change that. The most we can do is to try to alleviate some of the effects, but within the means at our disposal. We cannot take on ourselves the whole burden of the situation which results from the reforms in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and a few other neighboring countries, (?and then later) the GDR.

It is not true that no concern has been shown to avoiding lack of continutiy, to avoid the situation in the GDR causing complications in Poland. Almost from the first days when the situation began to mature (?for) German unification, the government took diplomatic steps aimed at guaranteeing the continuity of all agreements, at ensuring that the Federal Republic of Germany or the future Germany, as it will be called, respects the agreements which the GDR concluded with Poland. They were often exhausting negotiations, because often we did not really know whom to negotiate with. The situation in the GDR changed very rapidly. Not all decisionmakers wanted to make decisions at all and sign agreements; they were (?looking to) their colleagues from across the Laba [Elbe], who in turn did not yet feel themselves to be competent. We are also trying to get the united Germany to take into account the fact that, despite the continuity of international agreements, despite that, Poland incurs

specific losses because of the collapse of many enterprises in the GDR, because of the breaking of coproduction links, and because the GDR will cease to be a customer or a supplier. We want the Germans to take these matters at least partially into account in their aid to us.

I also agreed that a difficult situation has arisen in military plants, not just the shipyard. It is caused both by changes inside the Warsaw Pact, and by other difficulties in disposing of that equipment. We have taken at least several steps in this area: Apart from an ad hoc rescue of finances, we want to convert this industry into a different one or to find other markets for it in a developed country. We have concluded a fairly important agreement for Polish industry with the developed countries for unblocking the influx of new technology to Poland.

That was one of the main hindrances (?to the development) of not only the armaments industry but all kinds of industry. The entire technology was closed to us [passage indistinct] foreign capital but it could not come in with it to Poland, it was banned. We have been holding talks since April and that ban now concerns very few spheres, and we hope that it will be one of the factors promoting the economy.

A question was asked about financial policy in 1991. I cannot answer it fully at the moment. First, we want to introduce a uniform income tax, which will not burden the employee. At the moment, as is known, every employee pays 20 percent of his net pay in tax, except that he does not know about it. We want him to know—that is, that on his [word indistinct] Z120 and written down that he has paid 20 in tax. It would be (?so that they know) how much tax they are paying and that they know that they are demanding the promotion of industry, greater social care, higher salaries in the national health, [word indistinct] 20 changes into 21 or 22. And that is the truth. Everything that is expected of the government has to be given to it in taxes.

We also want to simplify the remaining tax regulations. That is naturally going to be an issue. It cannot last a year, [word indistinct] can ask for details, which is a further quite important change for industry also. Highly developed countries took one and a half years to prepare themselves to introduce it. We will not make a mess either and will not introduce it in three months. It will (?only) be introduced in 1992.

If it is a question of the [word indistinct] or the pay blockage, we assume that a departure from it can happen when the other side [as heard] appears in the enterprise. That is the more correct one. At the moment in Polish enterprises, both the director and the workers council and the trade unions support an increase in pay and a possible rethinking about the development of their own enterprise. In the meantime, each firm must apply an accumulation for the future, must draw up an accumulation for the development of other branches, which ought to be invested in them. As a result of this, the role of whoever tries in turn to discuss with the employees is the other side, is the employer, is based on the wages not going up too much in relation to the enterprise's possibilities. I said that our wage rates are too low, that at the moment in Poland people earn one-seventh of that earned in the world, a purchasing power of perhaps one-quarter. That is very little, I agree. That is what our economy is like, however; that is how much it can give people. Now the problem is also based on the degree to which privatization is going to progress, the degree to which we are going to depart from the popiwek [as heard]. What will the pace be? I cannot give an answer to that at the moment. Quite simply, no decision has been made. That is because [word indistinct].

The problem of housing: apartments have become more expensive, rents have gone up. Ladies and gentlemen, unfortunately there is one truth. If it is a question of subsidies, regardless of whether it is coal, electricity, or housing, or milk, everyone has some advantage in that subsidy, both the poor and the rich. Hence, and Minister Kuron will say more about this, we want, where it is necessary to subsidize, to address by name the person who needs it and not everyone, with prices artificially lowered.

Hence, the development of Minister Kuron's ministry, the Ministry of Social Affairs, and the creation of the state's social policy, on a scale much greater than it had been so far, [is needed].

I would like, just once more, to touch upon the matter which you, ladies and gentlemen, call apathy, a lack of involvement among people as far as actions are concerned. Well, it is my belief, and for me it is somewhat symbolic, because on 12 December 1980 it was in this very hall that I reported on a draft reform of territorial self-management and elections to works of a basic level—it was precisely on 12 December that the National Commission discussed this. Perhaps some of you remember this? There were also supposed to be elections; they were to take place I think in January 1981 or in February 1981 [words indistinct]. Well, the implementation of this reform gave a chance to tens of thousands of people—for there are several tens of thousands of councillors in Poland—an opening to a new path of activity, to a new sovereignty for them.

As far as economic life is concerned, we speak a great deal about recession, but, on the other hand, one can see that there are enterprises, that there are industries in which a radical change for the better has taken place, which have managed—within a few months—to increase production, export production to countries which demand several times over. [sentence as heard] It is said that the small private sector is going to ruin. But let us notice that several tens of thousands of small companies set up by people have been created. (?not everyone has a tendency toward thieving). Some people do, after all, do something for society. It is not true that a company has only its own benefits to consider, who says that it may only benefit itself. If it is selling something to someone

who is buying, that means that it is necessary for somebody. That is the effect of its activities. Never mind whether this is trade, services, or production.

We also want to help these new small companies, which are set up by people who have lost their jobs, by people who are dynamic. A credit program has been created so that they might find difficulties easier to deal with. In total, it is after all a large group of people who has chosen this path. Of course, it is our wish that this activity in the economic sphere should be even greater. But, ladies and gentlemen, we are also aware of the fact that not everybody has the money. Many people do not have any money and this activity will, therefore, not develop as quickly as it does in countries which start at a higher level and, yet, also once began a policy of supporting new enterprise in order to awaken people's enthusiasm in these matters. We will continue this policy as long as it lies within our power. We want to create (?projects) for those who have nothing, projects which will not be [words indistinct] to a property but an insurance for the machines which they want to buy for production. We also have already set such projects in motion, and we shall continue along this path.

Well, that is all from me. I think Minister Kuron will give answers to several matters perhaps better than I can. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Shipyard Meeting Ends

LD3008192590 Warsaw PAP in English 1835 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 30—Today's meeting between Premier Mazowiecki and workers from the Gdansk region ended after 3.5 hours of talks during which the prime minister and cabinet members replied to numerous questions.

The majority of questions suggested the need for the acceleration of political transformations and the animation of the economy.

Walesa Gives News Conference, Condemns Iraq

LD3008131190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Poland 1005 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Report on news conference with Lech Walesa by unidentified reporter in Gdansk on 30 Aug—passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, Gdansk reporting: Lech Walesa held a news conference today, the first since the holiday break. Here are some excerpts recorded at the conference. The first question concerned the Iraq-Kuwait conflict:

"My position in this matter has always been clear and always the same: We cannot allow the stronger to take what belongs to the weaker; we cannot let the world allow injustice and destabilization. What immediately springs to mind are the words which came from Gdansk in 1939, when we said that Europe was in danger, that Nazism threatened peace. We were then told that they would not die for Gdansk, that the Poles should sit quiet. And later, this concept appeared in London and Paris—and Paris had to answer for the fact that it did not listen to these voices. I would like to say that all those living today ought to be aware of, and draw conclusions from, the past, from the past which destabilized and cost everyone so dearly. We must do everything today to ensure that international solidarity does not permit the destabilization of peace in the world."

The Solidarity chairman was also asked about his attitude to Alfred Miodowicz's letter of intent.

"I only received this letter today. Of course, it contains several slogans which might be well received by working people. I receive them well also. But we will see what's behind it. It is a fact that we have to think deeply over where we are today, and to realize that the working world is tired of this blurred situation. Before long, it will say no to today's solutions."

Lech Walesa was also asked for an assessment of the current sociopolitical situation in Poland.

"I am much afraid, because the general public is heartily sick of what is going on in Poland. Once again, the reason is that the general public does not (?contribute) to decisionmaking, to representation: Generally, it does not participate in the affairs of Poland today."

Let me remind you that those were just excerpts from Lech Walesa's news conference today.

Assesses Meeting With Pope

LD3008155190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Polish affairs must be conducted differently because, as far as society is concerned, still nothing is happening, said Lech Walesa at a meeting with journalists. This does not imply a negation of the prime minister's great work. What is important is efficiency. Assessing his recent meeting with the pope, the Solidarity chairman said that the person of the Holy Father should not be exploited by Poles for their games. I have heard opinions on television stating that John Paul II gave no signs in favor of my candidacy for president. It was not said, however, that there were also no indications of a lack of support.

Urges 'Obligatory' Elections

LD3008182190 Warsaw PAP in English 1646 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 30—Lech Walesa met with newsmen at the Solidarity seat here today. He was mainly asked about the current political situation in Poland and his own presidential plans. Following are some of Walesa's remarks:

A chance that came up after the dissolution of the party was not used. That arrangement was built in 65 percent by the party and in 35 percent by us. It went to pieces and we did not use a chance to build a new one. For this I have a grievance against politicians—their passiveness made all, me including, play roles of dummies. The issue should have been solved, and I should have been either thanked for or found a new place, but it did not happen and Walesa became a ridiculous person, the Solidarity leader said.

I do not analyse what road President Jaruzelski has passed. I undermine the out-dated state of affairs. Owing to the round table agreement we only have our hands tied—the situation is abnormal, immoral and uneducable for society.

This situation must end in democratic elections. If we persist in this abnormality, I will be looking for a place for myself somewhere else, a place where it will be possible to materialize a democratic concept. It may turn out that it only may be a presidential place.

I draw completely different conclusiosn from the current situation than those who are afraid of destabilisation resulting from acceleration. It is the present direction that must lead to a conflict which will upset everything, the whole set-up.

I will spare no efforts so that the nearest elections could be obligatory. This does not mean that I plan compulsion, constraint. The point is to make it a patriotic duty—everybody should determine his views. This is neither constraint nor a fancy but a task for all Poles.

Solidarity takes too many political activities and too few unionist ones. The time is coming to abandon all the fields except from the union domain. There are several slogans in Miodowicz's letter that working people, me including, may well receive. One should ponder upon what our position is because shortly society may say "enough."

ZYCIE WARSZAWY Corrects Walesa Interview

AU3008164290 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Aug 90 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Corrections"]

[Text] In the Lech Walesa interview that ZYCIE WARSZAWY carried in its 25-26 August (Saturday and Sunday) edition, two of Lech Walesa's replies were published garbled. We now publish them in their correct form.

Question: Some people have said that they foresee a crisis around the presidency this fall. Will this happen? Others say that Bush's invitation to Jaruzelski supports the present order in Poland.

Answer: Only God knows the answer to that one. The invitation is something different. It is something from the past, because the meeting was prearranged a long time ago. Some bad and inaccurate publicity on the situation in Poland, however, could have led to such interpretations and opinions.

Question: This will be your fifth meeting with the pope; what sort of meeting will it be?

Answer: Every previous meeting was different and took place in different political conditions. We Poles must always be grateful to the pope. The Holy Father has a different perspective on what is happening and a deeper, wider view. Let us look at this different perspective and listen to what is really important. But I will continue to say what I think.

We apologize to Lech Walesa for having garbled his replies.

Bartoszcze Discusses Elections, Presidency

AU2808163990 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 25-26 Aug 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Polish Peasant Party Chairman Roman Bartoszcze by Janina Paradowska; place and date not given: "There Was No Coalition"]

[Excerpts] [Paradowska] Recently, you jointly organized a meeting called "Gathering for the Defense of Democracy." Does such a danger really exist? Where do you see this danger?

[Bartoszcze] If Poland is to be a country of parliamentary democracy, political parties have to be the base for the system. Presently, such parties do not have the possibility to function freely and develop. This is mainly due to the failings of our media system. The media picture is one sided. This gives the impression that the political scene is full of ill-defined social groupings, and that there is no place left for political parties in the classic mold. The domination of these groupings means that we have a "make believe" political life—everything is reduced to a personal conflict, games, and not a campaign based on political programs and arguments. [passage omitted]

[Paradowska] What is your opinion of the present state of your party, the former United Peasant Party [ZSL], now the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]?

[Bartoszcze] Election results are the best measure of the standing of any party, especially parliamentary elections, but that is still ahead of us. The local government elections were a test run and, if we look at the results, the PSL (taking into account the state of its transformation at the time and the level of domination of the political scene by the citizens' movement) was a definite success. The local government elections were not, however, a success for Poland. [passage omitted]

[Paradowska] Does the PSL have any program to reduce social frustration?

[Bartoszcze] We think that it is insufficient to call upon the public to take matters into their own hands. One must supply the necessary tools for the job. In our economic program we propose an economic enfranchisement of society by a widely implemented policy of workers' ownership. We have to give people the means to live. Economic recession is not the answer, nor is pauperization or unemployment. The people must believe in the sense of our reforms and understand the principles the transformations are based on.

[Paradowska] That is easy to say, but you know that there are no easy options or roads.

[Bartoszcze] I know its not easy, but I know that if society gets the right cards for the game, it will win.

[Paradowska] Cards for what game?

[Bartoszcze] The economic game. We have many ideas to generate economic activity in Poland, but one cannot do everything with an idea. One has to have the wherewithal. Giving each family some property is what I mean by giving society the right cards. A sweeping implementation of workers' share schemes will enable the foundations of a capital market in Poland. [passage omitted]

[Paradowska] Now to your evaluation of the government program. On 12 August, in Tarnow, you made a speech at Witos' monument saying: "After seven months of this government and as a result of the so-called Balcerowicz Plan, Poland faces an economic disaster. I have to say that the government team never had, and does not have, a welfare policy, it lacks vision to lead the country out of the crisis, and it has not put forward any policy which will stop recession in agriculture and industry." Am I to understand that this is your current opinion of the government?

[Bartoszcze] Yes. Regarding the economic program, our view is adamant. It is leading the country to disaster.

[Paradowska] Chairman, if this is your view, what on earth are you doing in a coalition which produced this government and supports it in the Sejm from time to time?

[Bartoszcze] The time has come to speak plainly. There never was any coalition, only a political arrangement designed to retain power. This was a natural result of the "roundtable" agreements. [passage omitted]

[Paradowska] All the political movements are discussing a political calendar.

[Bartoszcze] The PSL is not interested in a political calendar. Obviously, free elections must take place, but we need time for the political scene to develop. The parties must be strengthened so that the electorate can choose between programs.

[Paradowska] So you are not in any hurry for parliamentary elections?

[Bartoszcze] No.

[Paradowska] Do you want to see changes at presidential level?

[Bartoszcze] This is not important for today. Personally speaking, President Jaruzelski does not bother me. It is not the president who is blocking democratic elections. I would just point out that pressures for a presidential change are coming from the very circles which chose him. [passage omitted]

[Paradowska] What is your opinion of the forces that are deriving from the Citizens' Committee; ROAD [Citizens Movement-Democratic Action] and the Center Accord?

[Bartoszcze] I am not convinced that they are not simply screens for political elites enabling them to survive to the next elections, but we are ready to cooperate with everyone on the condition that we aim at solving concrete problems. [passage omitted on history of the former ZSL].

Journal Views New Political Alignments

LD3008185190 Warsaw PAP in English 1547 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—"How are they voting?"—Such exclamations can be heard sometimes in the chamber of the Polish Parliament when deputies are voting not always in tune with interparty arrangements binding almost a year ago after the June elections held according to the "round table" accord.

Currently, the alignment of forces in the Sejm (lower house) is so complex, that even some of the deputies are confused: Who is with whom and why? Thus, no wonder that also a number of voters do not understand the line of conduct of the deputies.

The "WPROST" weekly, coming out in Poznan, made an attempt to draw a picture of the constantly changing alignment of forces in the Sejm. Replying to the question: What is the real alignment of those forces, the weekly wrote:

So far as deputies of the former Polish United Workers Party are concerned, some of them joined the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SdRP), headed by Leszek Miller and Aleksander Kwasniewski. Others, joined the Polish Social Democratic Union (PUS) [PUSd] led by Tadeusz Fiszbach. However, a considerable number of them remained independent. SdPR and some of the independent deputies formed the Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left, from which 46 deputies from the PUSd club firmly expressed their separation. PUSd is clearly aiming to unite with the Polish Socialist party headed by Jan Jozef Lipski and Andrzej Malanowski.

Those attempts are not even strangled by Malanowski's statements that his party does not intend to join forces

with PUS. Furthermore, some of the activists and deputies of the union opts for an alliance with the Centre Agreement, however they are in the minority against those favouring a union with the Polish Socialist Party (PPS).

As for the SdRP, one can observe its inclination towards the Citizens' Movement-Democratic Action (ROAD), but it is doubtful that a permanent merger will take place in this case.

A split is also visible in the peasant movement. The largest peasant club is formed by Polish Peasant Party (PSL) headed by Roman Bartoszcze, founded after the merger of PSL and PSL "Odrodzenie" (rebirth). There is also the club of PSL Solidarity headed by Jozef Slisz, founded by deputies who left the Citizens' Parliamentary Club (OKP) and there is a group of PSL deputies who opposed the merger with the PSL "Odrodzenie".

Peasant activists' sympathies clearly bend towards an alliance with the Centre Agreement what stems from certain ideological links [words indistinct] disinclination towards government's agricultural policy.

The parliamentary club of the Democratic Party (SD) also experienced considerable problems, as a group of deputies led by Tadeusz Bien charged the SD leadership with conservatism which led to a crisis and to a reshuffle.

After the withdrawal of 3 deputies, the club has 24 members, including Deputy Bien who only suspended his activities in the club. SD deputies' sympathies are divided, some glance towards the Centre Agreement, others towards ROAD, and still others are in favour of the creation of a "third force."

Deputies of the Pax Catholic Association, Polish Catholic Social Union and the Christian Social Union, like top officials of those associations, show little activity and are not included in political speculations. Still, closing ranks, they could have the power to decide.

The situation in the Citizens' Parliamentary Club (OKP) is also very complex. Quick to appear in the club were differences between the "lay left" and the rest of the deputies. About 60 OKP deputies created once a centre-right "Economic Action" to balance the influence of Adam Michnik and Bronislaw Geremek.

Many OKP deputies and senators started to present themselves as representatives of all sorts and kinds of parties. OKP's division into factions became visible especially after the foundation of ROAD and the Centre Agreement, for many of the parliamentarians played key roles in the creation of those two organizations.

Centre's declaration was signed by 38 deputies and senators, while the group of deputies and senators linked with ROAD counts 41 persons. However, those figures vary, like the entire alignment of forces in the Sejm.

Warsaw Region To Receive Third TV Channel

LD3008185390 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1800 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] I will read a communique concerning television: The Radio and TV Committee announces that it intends to set up a limited company to deal with the preparation, on a commercial basis, of a third television program, broadcast to Warsaw and the surrounding area. This company is an open one: a quarter of the holding will be the property of the Warsaw Television Center; legal or individual persons may become the remaining shareholders, on condition that their financial input is not less than one billion zloty. Those interested can obtain detailed information by ringing the following number: 47-64-75, on 1 and 3 September from 1000-1200.

Spokesman Presents Romania's Iraq Position

AU3008141990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] The position of the Romanian Government on the Gulf crisis has not been and is not directed against Iraq. It is a position favoring the observance of the universally valid principles of the UN Charter, the only valid basis on which relations between states can be established. This statement was made by Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman Traian Chebeleu at a news conference today.

On this occasion, he reaffirmed the Romanian Government's decision to observe commitments by adhering to the UN Security Council resolutions on the Gulf crisis, despite the prejudices which the application of economic sanctions against Iraq may incur for Romania's economy. In connection with these prejudices, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has taken a number of steps and, among other things, instructions have been given to Romania's representatives at the United Nations to act in accordance with Article 50 of the UN Charter and to consult the Security Council with a goal to diminishing the damage caused to the Romania economy following the nonfulfillment of the contracts concluded between Romanian and Iraqi companies.

More on Chebeleu Report

AU3008210190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1922 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Statement by Foreign Ministry Spokesman Traian Chebeleu at a news conference in Bucharest on 30 August—recorded]

[Text] I would like to start with a brief summation of the position of our country on the situation in the Gulf. The position of our government in this crisis was not, and is not, directed against Iraq, but it is a position favoring the observance of the universally valid principles of the UN Charter—the only valid basis on which interstate relations can be built.

Our positions were presented in no uncertain terms to the Iraqi side, through the usual diplomatic channels, as well as on the occasion of the 25-27 August visit of the special envoy of the Iraqi president, Mr. Samal Majid Faraj, minister of planning. The Romanian side reiterated our decision—the decision of our government to observe commitments by adhering to the UN Security Council resolution on the Gulf crisis—in spite of prejudices which the application of this resolution—particularly economic sanctions against Iraq—may incur for Romania's economy.

In connection with the additional economic difficulties for Romania resulting from the application of the economic sanctions determined by the UN Security Council, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has taken, and continues to take, a number of steps. Thus, our UN representative was instructed to act in accordance with Article 50 of the UN Charter, and to consult the Security Council with a view to diminishing the damage caused to the Romanian economy. Article 50 provides for the right of states, which register outstanding damage as a result of observing the sanctions adopted by the UN Security Council, to consult the UN Security Council about the diminishing of this damage. In the case of UN Security Council Resolution No. 661—the resolution through which economic sanctions were established—a special UN Security Council Committee, which, among other things, also examines the [word indistinct] of states on the issues of damage was set up. We, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, consulting the economic ministries, have drafted a document in which we included data, documents, and figures on the consequences of applying sanctions for the Romanian economy. This was presented to this committee of the UN Security Council and this committee will examine it together with other similar documents presented by other countries, which are also affected by the observance of sanctions.

A final subject is in connection with the situation of our embassy in Kuwait: I would like you to know that Romania has not recognized the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq and, as a result, Romania does not recognize the juridical effects of this annexation resulting from the military intervention. Our government, therefore, decided to maintain our embassy in Kuwait even after the date of 24 August—established by the occupying Iraqi authorities to close embassies in Kuwait—and we continue to maintain relations with the legitimate government of Kuwait.

Our embassy in Kuwait continues to be maintained with its complete personnel, the same as it was at the moment of the invasion of the Iraqi troops, that is 14 people altogether, a number which includes family members of the personnel at that post.

Up to this moment, no problems have appeared which could be grounds for our concern in connection with the situation of our embassy in Kuwait and of its personnel.

I would also like to make a few statements on the proceedings of the subcommission for the protection of minorities and prevention of discrimination, which is currently being held in Geneva.

Within this subcommission for the prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities, Mr. Dumitru Mazilu's report on the issue of "Human Rights and the Youth" was disseminated. The document was drafted on the basis of the task that Mr. Mazilu received from this UN body. The report was advanced to the subcommission on the afternoon of 29 August. The present report is a revised form—a final form—of the report read by Mr. Mazilu during last year's session of the subcommission.

The report has been drafted in general terms without referring to any specific country. In its introduction, the report states the intention to approach the respective subject from a new angle, taking into consideration the new developments and the current requirements for an

adequate statute of youth throughout the world. The report contains constructive elements among which, we note, those included in the chapters dealing with the right to life, to work, and to education. Also noteworthy is the importance of the proposal of elaborating a charter of youth rights and freedoms whose draft is included in the report.

As a matter of fact, the Romanian expert in the subcommission, Mr. Ioan Maxim, made positive appreciations of various ideas in Mr. Mazilu's report.

According to information supplied by mass media, including the Romanian press, Radio Free Europe, and AGENCE FRANCE-PRESS, Mr. Mazilu would have prepared and read a report with critical remarks to the situation of human rights in Romania, with special reference to the events of 13-15 June 1990. This is inexact, and it would have been impossible for Mr. Mazilu to prepare such a report; the approach of the situation of human rights in Romania is not included in the mandate established by the subcommission for Mr. Mazilu's report, which refers to youth and human rights.

We remind, on this occasion, that there is a special rapporteur for the situation of human rights in Romania, appointed by the UN Commission for Human Rights, who came to Romania to get information. He is going to present the results of his talks in Bucharest to the UN Commission for Human Rights at its next session in 1991.

[Bucharest ROMPRES in English at 1725 on 30 August adds the following passage to the above: To be more specific I should add that during the session held yesterday, 29 August, in the afternoon, when he read the report, Mr. Mazilu made a brief address referring exclusively to the privations he was subject to by the old regime. He did not refer to the report, But, as there are countries like China, South Korea and others, where youth rights are violated, he suggested that further data should be obtained and an updated report be drafted on this basis in 1991.

He also informed those present that he handed over to the chairman of the Commission for Human Rights "a material" and a letter on Romania for the debates due in Spring. A copy of that "material" was also sent to the chairman of the subcommission but was not disseminated among the members of the subcommission as it is not official.

He also said that he presented the chairman of the commission with another letter on his personal situation after the International Court of Justice issued a note regarding his status.

In this context it should be noted that in his capacity as special rapporteur, Mr. Mazilu enjoys, according to a convention to which Romania is also a party, the privileges and immunities granted to "U.N. experts on mission".

The International Court of Justice, through a consultative note issued in December 1989, confirmed the fact that Mr. Mazilu enjoyed those immunities.

Next, the chairman of the subcommission (an expert from Yugoslavia) suggested that Mr. Mazilu's mandate be extended for another year to update the report.

The proposal was accepted.

Consequently, we do not know what "materials" were presented to Free Europe and other news agencies, among which AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, as the report of Mr. Mazilu in his capacity as rapporteur of the UN subcommission.

Iliescu Receives Special Kuwait Envoy 30 Aug

AU3008182490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Today, Romania's President Ion Iliescu received at Cotroceni Palace (Sabah al-Sawai Salem al-Jaman), minister of state, special envoy of the Kuwait Emir, Jabir al-Ahmad al Jabir al Sabah, who presented a personal message from the head of Kuwait. The meeting was attended by Romulus Neagu, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ioan Mircea Pascu, presidential councillor. The officials discussed aspects of the Gulf situation and bilateral issues. The meeting was held in a cordial atmosphere of mutual respect.

Chebeleu Views Mazilu Human Rights Report

AU3008110790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Statement by Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; read by unidentified announcer—live]

[Text] Mr. Dumitru Mazilu's report on the subject of human rights and youth was distributed within the subcommission for the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities, whose session is currently taking place in Geneva. The document was drawn up on the basis of instructions received on behalf of this UN body by Mr. Mazilu. The report was presented to the subcommission in the afternoon of yesterday, 29 August.

This report constitutes a revised and finalized form of the report presented by Mr. Mazilu at last year's session of this subcommission. The report is edited in general terms, without making reference to one or another country. Its preamble stresses the intention of approaching the respective subject from a new angle by taking account of the new developments and the current requirements for an appropriate status of youth throughout the world. The report incorporates constructive elements, among which we want to stress those included in the chapter dealing with the right to life, work, and to an education. Also worth mentioning is the

importance of the proposal on issuing a charter on the rights and freedoms of youth, a draft of which is included in this report.

At the same time, the Romanian who presented the report to the subcommission, Mr. Ioan Maxim, made a number of positive assessments in connection with various ideas included in Mr. Mazilu's report.

According to some mass media sources of information, including the Romanian press, RFE [Radio Free Europe], and AFP, Mr. Mazilu allegedly prepared and presented a report to this subcommission with critical remarks about the situation of human rights in Romania, refering especially to the events of 13-15 June this year. This is incorrect and it would not even have been possible for Mr. Mazilu to prepare such a report, because dealing with the human rights situation in Romania does not fall within the mandate established by the subcommission for Mr. Mazilu's report, which refers to youth and human rights.

On this occasion we want to recall that there is a special official reporting on human rights in Romania appointed by the UN Human Rights Commission, who recently visited our country to gather information. The results of his consultations in Bucharest will be presented at the next session of this commission in 1991.

Nastase Discusses Relations With Hungary

AU3108154490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1419 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 31/8/1990—In an article headlined "The Europe of the Future or the Europe of the Past?" run in the latest issue of weekly "LUMEA AZI," Mr. Adrian Nastase, Romania's foreign minister, refers to theses and actions official political circles in Hungary promote over the issue of the Magyar minority in Romania and to the prospects of bilateral relations seen from this angle.

"The official attitude of the Government in Budapest bespeaks a suspect dualism on the one hand, there are modern, positive and constructive approaches, when they look to the Western part of the continent, and, on the other hand, there are approaches filled with the nostalgia of an imperial past, with the undissimulated wish to revive the Europe of yesterday, when they look to the Eastern part of the continent, to Romania in particular," Mr. Nastase shows.

Making an in-depth analysis of Hungarian stand-takings, the Romanian foreign minister notes: "The meaning of Hungarian officials' haughty, calumnious statements vis-a-vis Romania is clear even if they are surveyed only briefly: it does not matter whether such statements have an impact or not; the important thing to the accusers is that they "sensitize" internal public opinion, that they give Europe and the world a deformed image of Romania to facilitate the promotion of Hungary's revisionist position."

"The Romanian Government," Mr. Adrian Nastase further points out, "is deeply concerned to secure a smooth run of relations with all neighbours, with Hungary in the first place. The Romanian Government perseveringly follows these relations through good neighbourhood, which, to a large extent, means an understanding of the fact that a political framework to favour harmonization of the two countries' stances and interests is needed. However, the problem of human rights, that is the rights of national minorities, and the problem of frontiers have nothing in common. That is why, it is unacceptable to have the minority question turned into a matter for discussion to build a troubled international climate and support claims for revised frontiers in Europe."

In the final section of his article, Mr. Adrian Nastase shows: "The groundless accusations and the ultimative positions of the authorities in Hungary, which maintain actions against Romania in various foreign circles, is a cause for legitimate concern on the part of public opinion in Romania. They are also a source of social tension and conflicts favouring extremist elements on both sides. Even if Hungarian inimical shows pursue this goal or not reason in politics and responsibility for the destiny of the states and for the stability of Europe call for a halt.

Our two countries are neighbouring countries and, to a large extent, they are faced with rather similar economic and social issues—which are even sharper in Hungary—that were inherited from past regimes. Under like circumstances, it is in their interest not to add further concerns over over-dimensioned problems, over non-existent problems even. It is only through mutual respect and lucidity that the dialogue started in Budapest last month can yield the expected results, in the interest of the two countries and, more particularly, of the persons in the favour of whom spirits in Hungary run high.

It is high time our two countries demonstrated to the world that maturity prevails over passion and nostalgia after the times of yore, that they are responsible partners on the road to the Europe of the future.

Further Reportage on Vienna Award Anniversary

Iliescu's Message to Nation

AU3008195090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Statement by President Ion Iliescu: "Message to the Nation on the 50th Anniversary of the Vienna award"—live]

[Text] Esteemed televiewers and radio listeners, esteemed fellow citizens: I address you today, 30 August, on the 50th anniversary of a tragic event in our national history, when the odious Vienna award was imposed on us by force. The tragic events which took place in the summer of 1940 urge us—and require as a duty of the whole Romanian nation's conscience—to recall the conditions under which parts of our ancient land were torn

away and transferred, and millions of Romanian citizens were forced to again undergo the ordeal of foreign domination.

Only 20 years after the achievement of our national unitary state, a decision, which was freely expressed by the plebiscitary assemblies of the Romanians in the historical provinces and recognized in the 1920's by the Paris Peace Conference on the basis of the right of nations to self-determination, was brutally violated by force and the award.

Under conditions of aggression started by the fascist and revisionist countries for the redivision of zones of influence and domination, at the outbreak of the World War II, the Vienna award—according to which the north western part of the country was annexed to the Horthyst Hungary—was imposed by force on the Romanian state, which was completely isolated internationally. Thus, under the patronage of Hitler and Mussolini, and with Stalin's interested agreement, one of the most abominable acts known in the modern history of mankind was carried out.

The wave of terror and cruelty that fell on the population in the area torn away, the deportations and assassinations carried out by the Horthyst occupying authorities, and the sufferings of hundreds of thousands of refugees affected the entire Romanian nation.

An analysis of the events which took place 50 years ago showed that the tragic moments which we are now recalling were made possible by the concerted actions of certain external hostile forces; actions which were facilitated by the climate of internal political destabilization, caused by the mean struggle for power under the pressure of extremist rightist forces which stopped the achievement of the unity of our whole nation aimed at defending the country's fundamental interests.

Subjugated in a tragic moment of its existence, the Romanian people did not consider themselves defeated, and had the power to find themselves anew in a complete unity, which allowed them—in August 1944—to start liberating the territory that had been torn away from them by the odious Vienna award. At the end of World War II, the second peace conference in Paris recognized and reconfirmed that the whole of Transylvania belongs to Romania permanently.

We recall these events, not to sow hostility and hatred among the successors of those who lived in those times, but because we hope that such events never happen again.

We want to find a way to eliminate distrust and suspicion, and to engage together in the act of establishing a climate which eliminates the possibility of a repeat of whose disastrous moments, which stained the body of our country with blood and left deep marks on the conscience of generations.

The 50th anniversary of the dramatic events which culminated in the fascist Vienna award, finds the Romanian people at a crossroads in their destiny. With the December revolution, we pledged to pull the country out of the deadlock in which the dictatorship and the totalitarian regime pushed it, and firmly and irreversibly direct it on the road of democracy, freedom, and socioeconomic progress.

During this period, we have built a new political system based on the separation of power—multi-party system and free elections—on the freedom of expression, and respect for the fundamental human rights. We opened the process of transition toward creating a modern market economy which should ensure a dignified life for our nation.

As it was clear for us from the very beginning, the process that we opened is not easy at all. We are confronted, and continue to be confronted, with numerous difficulties—mainly in the economic area; the transition period is not free of upheavals, which are inherent in transformations of such an extent. To defeat these difficulties, we are called upon to unite our efforts, carry out a steady and efficient work in all areas, and make use of all intellectual and moral capabilities of our country. The experience we have gained so far—including the experience of the recent days—shows that the fulfillment of the great ideals of the December revolution and the new political, economic, social, and cultural course of our country, are affected by manifestations of certain forces which mistake democracy for anarchy; which, through their actions—although recognizing the seriousness of the situation inherited from the old regime—willingly or unwillingly contribute to the destabilization of our country and to its isolation in the international arena.

We cannot overlook the fact, however, that there are forces which are hostile to our country, which wish to create an anti-Romanian climate, and which attempt to harm Romania's unity and integrity and harm the national feelings of our nation.

Under these conditions, I believe that it is necessary to find again our spirit of unity that we had during the December revolution and during other historical moments of our national existence, with a view to fulfilling the government's socioeconomic program—which was virtually adopted by the entire Parliament—with a view to defending and consolidating the independence and sovereignty of our democratic state, and with a view to ensuring our faster integration in the material and cultural flow of our times. Our democratic option is firm and irreversible. The presidential institution, the government, and the Parliament are determined to be up to the aspirations of the whole nation and to ensure the construction of the new democratic Romania. I am deeply convinced that our current objectives and the difficulties that we must face call for the firm option of ensuring a democratic transformation under conditions of internal stability and of achieving an active social

criticism and political opposition, which, however, should not forget for a moment our interests and our fundamental national aspirations.

Therefore, I call on you: Let us unite our thoughts and actions on this ample platform of national consensus, and let us become the heralds of the everlasting aspirations of our nation toward the future. I call on you to support the consolidation of our young democratic institutions. Let us give a civilized but firm riposte to all those who attempt to harm the assets and values that we have gained; a riposte to the irresponsible and destabilizing actions, which incite hatred and violence, and which, as a matter of fact, play into the hands of certain foreign interests, and which do not have and cannot have any connection with the ideals of the December revolution.

It is clear that these forces represent a minority and they are at a counterpoint with the democratic options of our people. Under current conditions of ensuring the process of creating the structure of a lawful state, which allows free expression of various interests in the political area, manifestations outside this democratic framework represent a negation of democratic norms and principles. I call on you to forge jointly—through dialogue and through a rejection of intolerant and extremist positions—the social framework, which is indispensable for the implementation of the program on the renewal of our country and which ensures the determined passage to a market economy and to improving the people's standard of living.

I believe that within this new and democratic context, based on our faithfulness to Romania's independence, unity, and integrity we can find appropriate solutions—in accordance with the existing international standards—also to the problems on the natural rights of minorities.

Certainly, this should not mean that we overlook the norms and principles of interstate relations and the realities of our national state, whose bases were laid with the sacrifices made by many generations of forefathers.

On the 50th anniversary of the odious award, our common alternative is to cultivate a spirit of understanding, reconciliation, freedom, and tolerance. In this respect, I hail the responsible position of the Parliament expressed in the statement unanimously adopted yesterday [29 August] in connection with the events that took place in the summer of 1940 and expressed in the speeches of the representatives of parliamentary groups. This shows that beyond the platform or party interests, there is also a real potential to achieve a consensus concerning some national imperative issues and the fundamental interests of our country.

I call on you, esteemed fellow citizens: Let us contribute with our thought and deeds, in the most substantial agreement with the defining features of our people—a tolerant and thoughtful spirit—to develop relations of esteem and cooperation with all our neighbors and ensure the fulfillment of the aspirations to be part of the political, economic, and cultural life of Europe. Within this context, we speak out for good neighborly relations and cooperation with Hungary and for concrete actions which should lead to the elimination of tension, because we are convinced that only in this way will we serve the interests of our peoples.

As far as I am concerned, I reaffirm also on this occasion my unflinching thought to act as a factor of mediation and dialogue, understanding and social balance, with a view to uniting all active forces of our society around the ideas of democracy and economic and cultural renewal of our country, on the road inaugurated by the December revolution.

FSN's Dumitru on Award, 'Transition'

AU3008113390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0914 GMT 30 Aug 90

["Joint Session of the Parliament: Address of Deputy N.S. Dumitru"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—Presenting the stand of the National Salvation Front [FSN], deputy N.S. Dumitru stressed:

The Vienna diktat was only one of a series of blood-stained pages in Europe's history, which all peoples in Europe lived and came in the end to a common lesson. I am anticipating that this common lesson will be soon celebrated by the West European states through the setting up of the United States of Europe and by the East European states through liberation from totalitarian regime and commitment to a democratic regime and steady transition to the market economy. This is an example of history. We propose that besides the direct national aspects we should integrate our lesson of national history in this perspective, if we want to become not only Europeans but maybe in some respects even leaders of processes that should be up to future Europe.

Referring to the difficulties of the period of transition, N.S. Dumitru declared for a new solidarity and a new dialogue among all pluralist forces in the Parliament, without which the transition could not be achieved at a minimum cost.

In that context he noted the existence of good tokens: the political forces of all colours in the parliament understood the necessity to speed up the civic ripening process of the society. Democracy in Romania, N.S. Dumitru said, is in good hands and pluralism is the main factor of development of this democracy.

PNT-cd on Ethnic Coexistence

AU3008112090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0945 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/9/1990—The Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party [PNT-cd] understands to speak about the completion of 50 years since the odious Vienna Award by referring both to the past and to the future, said deputy Ion Diaconescu.

We humbly pay homage to the hundreds of peaceful citizens who were killed by the Horthyist military and paramilitary organizations, to the Romanians that were forcefully enrolled in the work battalions inside Hungary, to those sent to the Voronezh east front, to the over 300,000 refugees and the ones expelled from their homes, compelled to leave their parental wealth and, especially, to the scores of thousands of Romanian soldiers who sacrificed their lives for the liberation of northern Transylvania and of Hungary in 1944 and 1945.

Speaking about a highly dramatic historical fact we do not mean yet to keep anchored in the past.

As a Christian-oriented party, we wish that, as democratic Hungary dissociated itself from Horthy's crimes and abuses, we find out the elements of a peaceful co-existence with the neighbour country as well as a correct, democratic solution of the Hungarian minority's question in our country.

The chief elements we should consider are: To set in a real democracy which should guarantee equal rights to all citizens, the minorities included, in accordance with the constitution, with the declaration of human rights and the international treaties; no Romanian democrat, the less so the NPCDP [PNT-cd], can consider a cultural programme pervaded by denationalization tendencies.

The imperatives of our times are to bring people and peoples closer to one another by gradually eliminating frontiers, and by leaving their values to flow freely. Such imperatives call for a gradual improvement of isolationist, fascist or communist mentalities through a political education of their residues.

To usher in a new era, while drawing all the lessons from the past, we opine that the front-ranking politicians should be called on to promote a responsible, correct and humane attitude amidst their fellow citizens the Romanians amidst Romanians, the Hungarians amidst Hungarians, a.s.o.

The probity of political leaders, the full agreement between what they tell the public and what they practice in their intimate relations will be the wall apt to bar the extremists' instigations hidden under the veil of national interests.

TU, Students' Statement

AU3008112990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1032 GMT 30 Aug 90

["Transylvania: Trade Union Declaration"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—The Presidium of the General Council of the National Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Romania (NCFTU), a confederation with 3,292 affiliated unions counting a membership of over 3.1 million, and the Standing Bureau of the National Student Independent Union (NSIU) with a membership of over 34,000 from all over the country, released the following declaration which reads inter alia, in connection with the observance of 50 years since the Vienna diktat:

Transylvania was, is and will remain a Romanian land and will remain for ever part and parcel of Romania, a unitary, sovereign state whose territory may not be negotiable in any terms.

We consider that the tendencies manifest on an internal and international plane with certain circles and persons prevent the Romanian people from quietly commemorating the sad moment of the "political theft" that brought terror to an important part of the national territory, and do not serve the country, its efforts for economic and social democratic renewal.

We call on our member organizations, on all their members, to firmly reject, with calm and maturity, any attempt of hate-mongering, of disuniting those whom history has made live together, irrespective of their ethnical origin.

We hope that the other TU and student organizations in this country will endorse our stand.

We address an appeal of solidarity to the trade unions in Hungary and in other countries, inviting them to abstain from any action that does not comply with the idea of collaboration and good neighbourliness, to help establishing a climate of mutual confidence among all peoples.

Agrarian Democratic Party Statement

AU3008122690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1128 GMT 30 Aug 90

["Joint Session of the Parliament: Address of Deputy Victor Surdu"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—Deputy Victor Surdu, speaking on behalf of the Agrarian and Socialist-Democratic Parliamentary Group, said inter alia:

Romanians commemorate today the tragedy of Transylvania, of the country. They commemorate hundreds of thousands of Romanian lives killed by the Horthyist hatred that brought mourning to all Transylvania, to all of Romania. After all that, there unfortunately still are interested circles without or even within that are longing after the diktat, probably wishing even a new one. No. Such a thing will never happen. Nobody will ever cut a slice of our country's body again. So, the diversion continues, because the strategy of the inimical forces is clear: to disunite, to divert the attention of the rulers of new Romania, reborn in the December 1989 revolution, to make them neglect the country's economic and social reconstruction. Even lately, some of the Hungarians obsessively speak sometimes of "the two peoples," "the Romanians and the Hungarians." It is all clear to us. There is only one people living in Romania: the Romanian people. Part and parcel of the Romanian people are

the national minorities whom we keep and have always kept in high regard. Minorities that have equal rights with the Romanians. If the existence of two peoples continues to be referred to, then what will the Saxons say, what will the Serbian and the others say? They too, will want to call themselves peoples and then, there is only one step left to the phrase "the peoples of Romania" after the model of the Soviet peoples. And since we keep looking across the ocean to the democracy there, I wonder: has anybody heard any assertion made there about the existence of the "American peoples?"

On these moments of patriotic remembrance we are duty bound not to forget about the present that will be history tomorrow. And we want to build a clean and dignified history. The country lives through a very difficult period. Now, young and old, women and men, Romanians and people belonging to all ethnical groups living inside the country's frontiers, irrespective of religion, irrespective of political allegiance or belief, all of us have to understand we cannot advance an inch on the path to democracy and to the homeland's reconstruction unless we build fast, as fast as can a profound social peace.

In behalf of the parliamentary group of the Agrarian Democratic Party, I invite to lucid-mindedness, good faith, full national understanding for the establishment of real democracy.

Balanescu: Transylvania Romanian 'Problem'

AU3108085790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1429 GMT 30 Aug 90

["Parliament's Joint Session: Mr. Mihai Balanescu's Address"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—Speaking on behalf of the parliamentary Ecologic and Social Democratic Group, Deputy Professor Mihai Balanescu, said inter alia, while referring to the August 1940 events: For the first time in its history, at the end of this century and millenaium, after the overthrowal of the dictatorial regime, the Romanian people, alongside the ethnic minorities, are apt to reach a conciliation that opens new ways and enables the building of a society based on principles of liberty, democracy, stability and genuine equality of all those God chose to live in Romania.

In all our actions we should start from the outlook that we have a single world for us and for the future generations that we should defend from all points of view. Political reflection must focus on the need to find stable and balanced relationships between all those who live on this land, on the basis of concession and tolerance. We all must prove we want to live in a pacific society, putting an end to and equally attacking the deep causes of conflicts.

We must take as basic lines in our actions the elimination of the still persisting divisions among nationalities by doing away with hate, extremisms and respecting diversities, the tradition and culture of each one as well as by ensuring everybody's effective and equal participation in decision-making.

We think that the declaration of Romania's parliament will help establish in our country a participative, pacific, solidary, free, just and fraternal democracy apt to make everybody, whatever its nationality feel at home in Romania and, implicitly, in the eternally Romanian Transylvania.

Very well knowing that there still are people that cannot agree and maybe they will never agree to the idea that Transylvania, as an historical and ethnic reality, will belong to Romania for ever we give this firm riposte to their psychic, moral and even insulting aggression: Transylvania is no one's but Romania's problem. It is not a subject for discussions and their attempts cannot and will never be crowned with success.

Cluj Symposium on Anniversary

AU3108085990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1437 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—A symposium commemorating the victims of the Vienna diktat took place in Cluj-Napoca, sponsored by the Cluj branch of the Vatra Romaneasca Union, on August 29 in the afternoon.

The participants, scientists, men of culture and art, workers, peasants, students and pupils representing the most varied political and religious orientations and minorities, conjured up the tragical events, the massacres inflicted upon the Romanian population in the temporarily occupied territory.

The participants in the commemoration expressed the wish to live in peace and good understanding with all minorities living in Romania's indivisible territory, in the spirit of tolerance and humanism, for the economic and cultural prosperity of the homeland, so that no dictate should ever bring mourning to the Romanian people again.

Cluj Forum Appeals to Ethnic Harmony

AU3108083390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1817 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—In an appeal to the population of Cluj County the Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum of Cluj speaks against the vitiation of the relations between the Romanians and Hungarians in Transylvania, as well as the worsening of the relations between Romania and Hungary on the commemoration of the arbitrary Vienna Award. The appeal points out that that was a fascist act which caused great suffering to the Romanian people. The Romanians and the Hungarians the appeal reads are called upon to live in peace and understanding; there is no other civilized solution for the future.

Bucharest Rally Marks Anniversary

AU3108090190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1601 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—"Vatra Romaneasca" Union and the union of refugees from northwestern Romania 1940-1944, the National War Veterans' Association and the Reserve Officers' Association of the Bucharest Army held Wednesday a civic rally in front of the Military Academy to pay homage to the victims of the Vienna award, to the heroes that died for the reintegration of the homeland.

In the presence of government members, of representatives of political and cultural organizations, of war veterans, of hundreds of Bucharesters, floral wreaths were laid on behalf of Romania's president, the Senate, the Romanian Government, the National Liberal Party, the Agrarian Democratic Party, the Romanian Democratic Socialist Party, "Vatra Romaneasca" union and of other political groupings. A religious service was officiated in the memory of the national heroes and martyrs. A minute's silence was kept for the victims of the Vienna award, for the heroes of the December 1989 revolution.

3,000 Demonstrate in Tirgu Mures

LD3008194590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Three thousand people demonstrated in Tirgu Mures, Romania, on the 50th anniversary of the second Vienna award, and there were similar actions in other Transylvanian towns, and in Bucharest too. At the events organized by Vatra Romaneasca, participants marched with black-banded Romanian flags, and they sang the national anthem. Prime Minister Petre Roman called on Transylvanian towns where at the time the Hungarian authorities committed atrocities against the Romanian inhabitants, after part of northern Transylvania had been re-annexed to Hungary in accordance with the second Vienna award.

Funeral for Horthyist Victims Held

AU3108094690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1957 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—A funeral feast was held at the Romanian Orthodox Church Patriarchy on Thursday to commemorate the northern Transylvanian victims of the Horthyist-Fascist occupation that followed the Vienna award.

The service was held by His Beatitude Teoctist, Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church, together with high prelates. Senators, deputies, representatives of various political formations and numerous believers also took part in the service.

Also present was a delegation from Transylvania of the Union of the 1940-1944 North-Western Romanian Refugees.

Commemoration Ends Peacefully

LD3008220890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Throughout the day we have waited tensely for the reports coming out of Romania, but it seems that sobriety has on this occasion prevailed over passions. This is not appeasement yet, but at all events it is an attempt at clearing up conflicts in a European manner. A roundup of events first and foremost from Otto Oltvanyi in Bucharest:

[Oltvanyi] In Romania today the commemorations which were held on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the second Vienna award passed without any particular disturbing circumstances. Earlier, the nationalist organization Vatra Romaneasca poisoned the atmosphere with anti-Hungarian accusations and in many places created a tense situation. It became perceptible that on the day of the anniversary anti-Hungarian incitement had diminshed. Moreover, head of state Ion Iliescu, in his speech tonight which was broadcast by television, cautioned for understanding and appeasement in connection with Hungary and he declared that Romania strives for cooperation with our country. He described the Vienna award as one of the most despecable actions in the modern history of humanity and he added that apart from the main roles undertaken by Hitler and Mussolini, Stalin also made his guilty contribution to this decision. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Our staff member Istvan Erdelyi went to several places in Transylvania. He spent the afternoon and evening in Tirgu Mures, from where he sent this report:

[Erdelyi] Is it possible that after today we will have to see the Vatra Romaneasca organization differently? Is it possible that the Vatra Romaneasca organization has understood the imperative command of the age? No matter how it will be in the future, it is a fact that the commemorations organized in Transylvania by the Vatra on the 50th anniversary of the second Vienna Decision passed in a European manner. The speakers, perhaps in an overly dramatic tone on more than one occasion but in the voice of reverence, professed their faith that the mourned periods of history might never be repeated. The chief editor of the Romanian language paper which stands close to the Vatra center of Tirgu Mures, the CURENTUL LIBER, obligingly let me see the proof-sheets of tomorrow's paper and in the paper's report about this day's events there figures no extremist, possibly anti-hungarian, voice.

Late tonight, at the so-called scientific session which was attended by about 1,000 people, Radu Ceontea, Vatra's national chairman, also spoke. Within the walls of the local palace of culture there took place a calm, restrained, and (?tearful) historical survey. As to who is wrong and in what way, that is the task of historians. But today there was not even any covert incitement against Hungarians, either here or at the early evening open air

mass celebrated by the orthodox ecclesiastical assembly. Moreover, I quote from tomorrow's paper: They expressed their wish to live in understanding and peace with all the national minorities in the spirit of tolerance and humanism. The streets here in Tirgu Mures are empty. As they told the participants at the Vatra session: Go home calmly, behave in a way worthy of mourners. It is quite. The day has passed peacefully.

Roman Views Award in Salaj County

AU3108083990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2124 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—Romania's Premier Petre Roman attended on Thursday the ceremonies that marked 50 years since the signing of the Vienna Award held in the Ip and Treznea communes, Salaj County.

The Romanian prime minister was accompanied by Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Nastase, the Interior Minister Doru Viorel Ursu, and the director of the Romanian Intelligence Service Virgil Magureanu.

Also attending were the prefects of Cluj, Salaj and Maramures Counties.

On the occasion Mr. Petre Roman said: We are Romanians, we are also Christians and therefore we can forgive, maybe we have to forgive, but we cannot forget and we are not allowed to forget. That is why we are here today: not to forget. Nor our children and grandchildren should forget. Because we want to live in peace, in good understanding with all those on our lands. But peace and understanding means that never and under no circumstance should claims for this ancient Romanian land be uttered again, and hatred and disunion make themselves room again. We want those who inhabit these lands as we do to stay with us. They have the same rights as we do. But these rights must be understood for good and all, as they should be, Christianly, and as they are understood by the whole civilized world.

Iliescu Receives Refugee Delegation

AU3108090390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0728 GMT 31 Aug 90

["Transylvania: Fifty Years Since the Vienna Diktat—Message by the Union of Romanian Refugees of North-Western Transylvania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] President Ion Iliescu received on August 30 the delegation of the Union of Romanian Refugees of North-Western Transylvania (1940-1944) representing the counties of Cluj, Mures, Satu-Mare, Salaj, Bihor and Covasna.

In behalf of the union's leadership, Senator Adrian Motiu presented a message expressing the oath of eternal faith to the homeland as well as the wish for understanding and peaceful coexistence among the citizens all over Romania. Also, the members of the delegation spoke of certain preoccupations of the union as regarded the process of democratization of the country.

President Iliescu stressed the importance of the consensus achieved through the endorsement of the recent solemn declaration of the Parliament that defined the principled stand it means to promote and observe with regard to the relations between the majority Romanian population and the national minorities.

He urged to large national reconciliation among all political and social forces that should ensure the participation of all citizens in furthering and deepening the process of democratization of the country inaugurated by the December 1989 revolution, in overcoming the difficulties facing Romania in this period of transition.

Tirgu Mures Vatra Commemorates Award

AU3108085390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0729 GMT 31 Aug 90

["Transylvania—Fifty Years Since the Vienna Diktat Commemoration at Tirgu Mures"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 31/8/1990—The Mures County branch of the Vatra Romaneasca organization held a commemorative rally on August 30 at Tirgu Mures, in the Roses Square, in front of the statue of Avram Iancu (leader of the 1848 revolution in Transylvania). Thousands of residents of the city and the county were present. A divine service was held to the memory of those dead for Romania's integrity, liberty and sovereignty. The participants took an oath to protect Romania's national being within the natural boundaries of the Romanians and Romanianism. The rally was orderly and urbane.

Such meetings were also organized at Reghin, Ludus, Tirnaveni, Sighisoara and other towns in Transylvania.

Roman Receives U.S. Industrial Businessmen

AU3008121690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1118 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—Wednesday, August 29, Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman received Willy Strothotte and Claude Dophin from the American "Mark Rich" industrial group, now on a visit to Romania for seeking ways of economic cooperation in petrochemistry and oil refineries. The American delegates also expressed their interest in starting cooperation with Romania in the production of aluminum.

The prime minister underlined that Romania was open to economic and financial-banking cooperation and that it was also interested in setting up Romanian-American joint ventures, based on mutual interest.

Iliescu Receives U.S. Romanian Delegation

AU3108094890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2103 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—Today President Ion Iliescu received the delegation of the Romanian American Committee headed by Mrs. Christine Valmy.

Reference was made to the relations between our country and the Romanian immigrants in the U.S.A. under the new conditions created by the democratization process brought about by the December, 1989 revolution.

Nastase Receives PRC Deputy Foreign Minister

AU3108094490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1606 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase received Mr. Tian Zengpei, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of China. Reference was made to the ways and means conducive to growing relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and China in domains of mutual interest.

Views were exchanged on the current international situation as well as information on the two countries' domestic life.

Romanian-Bulgarian Talks on Cholera Measures

AU3108083790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1814 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—A working meeting took place in Tolbuhin (Bulgaria) between experts of Bulgaria's Ministry of Public Health and Social Protection and of Romania's Ministry of Health. On the occasion the Romanian delegation informed about the cholera cases registered in Romania as well as about the epidemic characteristics.

The representatives of two ministries exchanged opinions concerning the anti-epidemic measures to be taken in connection with the current epidemic. The mutual accord was expressed regarding the following aspects: the Romanian Health Ministry Preventive Medicine Department will inform every week the Ministry of Public Health and Social Protection about each case of cholera registered; Romanian tourists can visit Bulgaria presenting a certificate attesting that they have no clinical signs of cholera and that no member of their family is contaminated with cholera. The certificate is valid for seven days. This measure will be applied by the Romanian Ministry of Health until the end of the current epidemic. The participants in that working meeting agreed that certain measures such as vaccination and a reduced circulation of foods and drinks of personal usage over the border are not efficient epidemiologically as the who recommendations also specify.

Presidency Issues Communique on Gulf Crisis

LD3008191190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croation 1433 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Aug (TANJUG)—At its session today which was presided over by President Dr. Borisav Jovic, the SFRY Presidency examined the development of the Gulf crisis and the activities of Yugoslavia.

Before beginning their work, the participants paid tribute to the miners killed in the Dobrnja mine accident with a minute of silence.

According to a communique from the session, "The Presidency has approved our country's foreign-political activities so far aimed at seeking a solution to the present exacerbated situation, and pointed out the need for Yugoslavia's intensive monitoring of the situation and its continuing activity within the United Nations and the Nonaligned Movement, as well as leading international factors."

The Presidency also appointed SFRY ambassadors to a number of countries.

The Presidency decided to examine, at its next session, the current situation regarding the implementation of economic reform and the economic and social situation in the country.

Spokesman on Embargo 'Damage'

LD3008195190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1832 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Aug (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia expected from its E.C. and international financial institution partners that their understanding for the damage Yugoslavia was suffering because of the implementation of the internationally-agreed sanctions against Iraq would not be merely declarative, Yugoslav Government spokesman Ivo Vajgl told a news conference in Belgrade on Thursday [30 August].

Vajgl stressed Yugoslavia would persist in its efforts to obtain fair compensation of the damage sustained, but, will also have to bear a certain burden, because of the principles and broader political interests as well as because a different stand would have inflicted vast damage.

Yugoslavia was consistently implementing the internationally-agreed sanctions, Vajgl said and [word indistinct] any different [word indistinct] claims as speculations. He added that so far a total of 2,600 Yugoslavs returned and that their returning continued.

Willing To Contribute to Resolution

LD3108110490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0525 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—Proceeding from the fact that it is primarily within the competence of the United Nations Organization to resolve the Gulf crisis, Yugoslavia will not avoid any opportunity for involvement in that respect, when it judges that it can provide a real contribution to the settling of the crisis, Yugoslav Foreign Ministry spokesman Ivo Vajgl said at the regular press conference here on Thursday [30 August].

Vajgl also said that every dialogue providing for a more realistic perception of the problem was beneficial.

Vajgl said that the recent talks with an Iraqi Government emissary had mainly covered the reasons behind certain moves in the region, including the invasion of Kuwait, while, he said, it was less possible to discuss any further concrete steps for overcoming the crisis.

The Gulf crisis can only be resolved by a withdrawal of Iraq's troops from Kuwait and by removing its causes, through negotiations which would be held in a bilateral, broader Arab or a third framework, said Vajgl.

Albanian Refugees Speak of 'Unprecedented Terror'

AU3008171890 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 90 p 8

[D. Becirovic report: "Albanian Refugees' 'Invasion' of Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Titograd, 15 Aug—According to unofficial figures, more than 300 men, women, and children have, in the last few months, escaped from the "land of the eagle" into Montenegro. Since, according to international regulations, the illegal crossing of borders requires the appropriate misdemeanor punishment, the Montenegrin prisons are full of Albanian emigrants. Indeed, they themselves have announced that the conditions in our prisons, the accommodation and food, are much better than what they had in their "nest" in Albania. Newspapers no longer report cases of individuals crossing the border.

According to some reports, the emigrants are people of all vocations and professions. Military personnel are also escaping Albania. This could mean that the situation is also delicate in the Army. As we have learned from unconfirmed sources, faced with the mass escapes, our neighbor has decided to strengthen border protection to such an extent that the use of weapons without warning has been ordered as a means of stopping fugitives. It is being said that four civilians who were trying to escape from Albania were killed several days ago in the vicinity of Tuza near Titograd.

All the refugees speak about the long years of suppression of freedoms and unprecedented terror which prevailed in the "eagle's nest." Some also speak about the large number of those killed during the attempts over the summer to get into foreign embassies in Tirana. On the hill of Dajti alone, forty bodies have been buried and about 150 were buried elsewhere. A common grave is allegedly covered up using an excavator. It will not be so

easy to find out how much actual truth there is in all this because news from this country is still well-controlled by the authorities there.

It is interesting that refugees say that Ramiz Alia is not a man who wants to continue to hold Albania in a vice at all costs. He is supposedly in favor of reform but through the resistance of the supporters of Enver Hoxha, who are still strong, Ramiz Alia is being cautious with democracy because a sudden opening up of the way to freedoms could release the tension that has been bottled up by the people because of the decades of crimes which have been committed against them in this Balkan country.

In any case, despite the increased tension of the situation on the borders and the authorities' decision to stop the mass flight from the country, democracy is nevertheless knocking on the armor of Albania.

It meant great progress for them that after the visit by Perez de Cuellar, they received a little more land, a household can now keep a cow or two, and it is also allowed to take goods to market to sell. No one goes to prison any longer in Albania for selling goods on the market.

So the armor of the "land of eagles" is rupturing.

Reports Continue on Violence During Kosovo Visit

Human Rights Group Details Injuries

LD3008153490 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] After a turbulent day in Kosovo yesteday, today a fictitous peace prevails. The Albanian opposition made known the outcome of yesterday's unrest, while the Bozur [Serbian anti-Albanian organization] of Kosovo Polje announced a state of alert for the period of the general strike. Dino Ramovic reports from Pristina.

The Committee for the Protection of Human Rights in Pristina stated today that during yesterday's brutal intervention by the Serbian police in the capital of Kosovo shortly before the arrival of the U.S. delegation, two people were seriously injured. They are Saban Sabani, a 40-year-old technical faculty professor, and 15-year-old Sefcet Hajdini. Both are in a critical state and are being treated at the neurosurgical hospital in Pristina. The committee also stated that many people were injured and detained, among them regular Grand Hotel gu[illegible]te. Since the talks between the Albanian alternative [illegible]zation and U.S. congressmen were held behi[illegible] doors yesterday, an official statement was issued today saying that the U.S. senators were shown material proofs of unjustifiable use of force and repression against the innocent Albanian people, and that calls were repeated for lifting the state of emergency, recognition of subjectivity of Albanians in Yugoslavia, independence for Kosovo, and establishment of democratic relations in this province.

The U.S. senators expressed their deep concern because of the brutal and mass violation of human rights of Albanians in Kosovo, the thwarting of democratic processes, the abolition of autonomy, and the establishment of a police state, the official statement from the alternative organizations says.

Senator Dole, according to the alternative organizations, expressed his dissatisfaction with the behavior of the Serbian regime, which tried to disturb their visit to Kosovo, and said that they had been informed by the Serbian Government about an alleged scenario on preparations for a national uprising during their visit.

The parallel government in Kosovo, the Bozur Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo, in its official statement today, called on its members to be on alert on 3 September and called on state bodies to take drastic measures against strikers.

We have also learned that a funeral of [name indistinct] from the village of Grejgovac, near Suva Reka, was held yesterday. He was killed in Velika Gorica garrison, where he did his military service. The funeral was attended by several thousand Albanians, and of course, security organs. This caused additional nervousness among the Albanian people in Kosovo.

Serbian Government Cites 'Terrorists'

LD3008212690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2021 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Aug (TANJUG)—The U.S. senators who recently visited Kosovo were told that prior to the delegation's arrival, Albanian separatists had created an impression among uninf[illegible]med ethnic Albanians that the visit was in fact a sign of (?support) for the plans of Kosovo's secession from Serbia, a statement issued by the Serbian Government on Thursday [30 August] says.

Commenting on the delegation's concern at the action taken by the forces maintaining law and order against those whom (?the statement) calls terrorists who clashed with them and who even used firearms in Pristina yesterday, the statement of the government's Secretariat for Information notes that such developments can only strengthen the unshakeable determination of the authorities to protect by legal means the security of all citizens and the integrity of Serbia.

"All those who encourage the dreams of a future greater (?Albania)" and "resort to unlawful and violent methods in threatening the territorial integrity of Serbia," should take note of that, the statement says.

It adds that the hopes of Albanian separatists that the state and its forces maintaining law and order would "yield to law breakers because of the American visitors" did not come true.

It is natural that the American senators should be forewarned of possible effects of the way in which their visit had been presented among Albanians, and of the

repercussions it might have on Serbia's and Yugoslavia's friendly relations with the United States, concludes the statement.

Further Details on Altercation

AU3008183090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Prvoslav Vukovic report from Pristina]

[Text] Yesterday's visit of U.S. congressmen to Pristina was the occasion for several thousand ethnic Albanian citizens gathering in the center of the town, in the immediate vicinity of the Grand Hotel. This is said at the headquarters of the special units of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs. The citizens who gathered to wait for the U.S. congressmen provoked the militiamen by throwing rocks and bottles at them.

In order to establish public peace and order, the militiamen used batons, tear gas, and a water cannon. The militia did not use any firearms, although several shots were fired, most probably from a pistol, from the crowd near the Bozur Hotel.

During the intervention, 21 militiamen were injured, and two official and several private vehicles were damaged. Forty-six people were detained, including two suspended ethic Albanian militiamen.

Military's 'Silence,' Activity in Kosovo Viewed

AU3008123590 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 17 Aug 90 p 2

[Ekrem Avdic commentary: "Milosevic Drives the Tanks"]

[Text] At the beginning of the year, units of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] entered Kosovo streets. The demonstration of military strength at that time was intended to calm national passions and to frighten the Albanian inhabitants, who had gone into the streets to say how they wanted to live on an equal footing with others in Yugoslavia. The justification for the tanks rolling through Kosovo was protection of the constitutional order. However, when this same constitutional order was violated with the unconstitutional cessation of the Constitution, Assembly, and Executive Council of Kosovo and the destruction was continued with the scrapping of communal assemblies and the legal management organs in enterprises, police terror, the scrapping of Pristina Radio and Television in Albanian and the RILINDJA newspaper, and the complete destruction of institutions of the system and human rights by the state force of Serbia, the JNA generals chose to wisely keep quiet about all this.

The generals of the JNA could find the only possible excuse for their silence over Serbia's self-will—that is, the realization of the project contained in the memorandum concerning the creation of a greater Serbia—in the stand of their supreme command, the SFRY Presidency. That is to say, by Yugoslav wise men outvoting at the council, the green light was given to Serbian self-will in Kosovo. Now the generals are totally undermining this insignificant alibi with their statements regarding the illegal and unconstitutional referendum on the autonomy of Serbs in Croatia, which undermines the sovereignty of Croatia, its Constitution, and the institutions of its social, state, and political structure. In response to statements by the Croatian leaders, the generals have been saying through public remarks, which at first sight appear to be neutral, that they will intervene in possible unrest in Yugoslavia, and there could be unrest because the Croatian authorities, elected in a free, democratic, and multiparty competition, will apply legally and constitutionally allowed means to preserve the structure which is founded on the Constitution and the laws of the Republic of Croatia and the SFRY. Thus, even before a stand was taken by their supreme command, the SFRY Presidency, regarding the northern Dalmatian and Lika referendum, the generals had taken up a position of ensuring law and order and quietly approving the unconstitutional referendum. This stand taken by the generals of the JNA is also a stand toward opening up yet another huge political crisis in Yugoslavia which directly undermines the foundations of Ante Markovic's government and particularly weakens his international position. Thus, Markovic's government every day increasingly finds itself in the gap between obvious reform successes in the economy and the growing political crisis in Yugoslavia. In this way, the generals are also contributing to destroying the little that is left of federal power in the federal government, and that is actually also the aim of the present political leadership of Serbia.

Milosevic's storm troopers in POLITIKA and Belgrade Television have for months been conducting an unprecedented campaign against Ante Markovic's government according to a tried and tested recipe. The experience of the Kosovo events tells us that the destruction of the highest organs of power in this province and its Constitution was preceded by a campaign that lasted many months in the aforementioned media before the final knockout blow was dealt. To remind ourselves, this scenario was also realized when the leaderships of Vojvodina and Montenegro were brought down.

By concocting the threat to the Serbs in Croatia, official Belgrade and its media have for months been preparing the field for Jovan Raskovic and his Serbian Democratic Party and their referendum intentions. Certain retired and active generals have been duped by these lies. However, the big question is to what extent they have been naive in this and to what extent aware. We are also taking this opportunity to remind the generals of the creation of parallel military units in Kosovo. The governors of Kosovo have armed the Serbs and Montenegrins there to the teeth and now "Bozur" is demanding that air

brigades be set up if they have not already been formed. The generals are naively and consciously keeping quiet about this.

They do not even care about defending the standing of the Yugoslav People's Army and its combat readiness because the formation of parallel military units also means a lack of confidence in the force of the legal units of the JNA. The generals should publicly speak up about this, at least for the sake of saving face, or are they going to continue to naively keep quiet about the possible creation of the same units in the Knin and Dalmatian regions?

Kosovo Strikers Threatened With 'Legal Measures'

LD3008181790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1748 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Pristina, 30 Aug (TANJUG)—Local authorities in Pec, Yugoslav Republic of Serbia's Kosovo Province, on Thursday [30 August] let it be known all legal measures will be taken against all those who take part in the announced general strike set for September 3.

The independent trade union of Kosovo has called on all workers—ethnic Albanians in the province to go on general strike on September 3.

The trade union of the Republic of Serbia has come out against the strike, while the "Bozur" society, one of the most influential organizations among Serbs in Kosovo, on Thursday assessed the call to strike as being politically motivated.

"Bozur" called on all state organs to promptly undertake measures against, as set out, terrorist purposes of the strike organizers.

The Province of Kosovo is a hotbed of ethnic conflict in Yugoslavia. A Serbian medieval state was formed and existed on what is now Kosovo territory, while Albanians make up 90 percent of its population today.

Kosovo Alternative Activity in Macedonia Noted

AU3008132190 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 24 Aug 90 p 2

[P. Dzambazoski commentary: "Dangerous 'Democratic' Games"]

[Text] Whether somebody likes it or not, a state governed by the rule of the law must function even during the times of pluralism and the democratization of social life. If these very people who should implement the rule-of-law state forget that, then the line between democracy and anarchy becomes blurred and anarchy is perpetrated unpunished by those very people who used to be the most vociferous advocates of democracy but who then put it in the same basket with such ideas and demands as make one's hair stand on end to the guardians of the state in countries with 100-year old democratic traditions.

When a large group of Albanians from Yugoslavia protest in Paris because democratic France failed to extend to them the hospitality that they had expected, French policemen tell them most politely that the Albanian flag they are waving can be waved in Albania, but not in France, because France has its own state flag.

However, in various petitions signed by ethnic Albanians in Macedonia, their parties ask that the use of the Albanian flag be allowed, although, as we all know, this flag is very frequently freely waved, even without permission, at various rallies organized in western Macedonia at which representatives of associated Kosovo alternative movements participate as special guests and address the people. Their appearance as guests in Macedonia would perhaps not be worth any serious analyses—because all SFRY citizens have the right to travel freely—if only they did not stir up members of their own people at these single-nationality meetings (through claims about their allegedly difficult position in Macedonia as a result of the chauvinist policy of the bolshevist-monist rulers) calling on them to fight for their rights which they should possess as a "people."

One has forgotten here that both Yugoslavia and Macedonia have given the Albanian nationality so many rights and opportunities for its national affirmation, something that does not exist anywhere else in the world and which no other nationality has in any other state in the world nor can it achieve them.

However, there is something else here, and that is the evident process of identification of western Macedonia with Kosovo. All Kosovo events are reflected in this region: from the well-known "victory" sign, the slogans "Kosovo Republic" and "This is Kosovo—we are Kosovars," up to the stoning of vehicles owned by Macedonians or Serbs.

A certain reflection can also be seen in the ever more frequent practice of not working, but striking, failing to pay taxes (which applies to the Macedonians, too), and various other examples of civil disobedience. Moreover, one supports workers in Kosovo who have not been working for months (and their failure to work tolerated) and whose "political strike" has caused huge losses.

Ajrula Gorani, president of the alternative Independent Trade Unions of Kosovo, has appeared in western Macedonia playing the role of a missionary, that is, asking for support and financial help for people (not) working in Kosovo. Many people are justifiably asking what his missionary role in western Macedonia is. What lies behind his visit and vehement speeches at the rallies of Albanians, which had a very inspirational effect on the growing Albanian nationalism. A similar role is played by many other members of the alternative movements, as well as nonmembers, such as Kacusa Jasari and others. At many of these rallies (which included guests

from Kosovo), one glorified "Kosovar heroes" and called on the Albanians from Macedonia to be brave in the struggle to regain the rights that had allegedly been taken away from them and concluding that Albanians now "should not wait."

Knowing the restless situation in Kosovo, one is fearing that the same—ranging from individual attacks to an open armed rebellion—may start happening in Macedonia.

Of course, many elements point out that activity hostile to Macedonia and Yugoslavia lies behind "democratic demands" and that the idea of joining western Macedonia and Kosovo is not a funny idea created in the heads of the Macedonian authorities and "traitors of the Albanian people" as it may seem.

It is high time the rule-of-law state started separating political democracy from hostile activity. It is probably also high time one started talking about civil rights regardless of national and other affiliations, but not beyond these.

Chetnik Leader Seselj Arrested for Illegal Rally

AU3108091390 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed TANJUG report: "Seselj Detained"]

[Text] Belgrade—On Saturday [18 August], the workers of the Belgrade Secretariat for Internal Affairs filed misdemeanor charges against Vojislav Seselj, leader of the Serbian Chetnik Movement. According to a statement issued by the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, Seselj and a group of his supporters held a public rally in front of the SFRY Assembly building between 2200 and 2400 on Friday, and failed to submit a request for a rally to the respective authority. Considering that the gathering was not approved, and bearing in mind that public peace and order were violated, public transport impeded, public morals insulted, and citizens disturbed, the Interior Secretariat personnel detained Seselj, conducted an official interview with him, and subsequently submitted a request for misdemeanor proceedings to be initiated against him. At 1200 on Saturday, the statement says, Seselj again held an unregistered public gathering in Belgrade. Therefore he was arrested and handed over to the city judge on misdemeanor charges, with a request that misdemeanor proceedings be initiated against him.

Raskovic Denies Calling Milosevic 'Tyrant'

AU3008204390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Dragan Stavljanin report from Knin]

[Excerpt] According to SLOBODNI TJEDNIK, a meeting between Raskovic and Boljkovac was held in a restaurant near Zagreb last Friday [24 August]. Raskovic allegedly allowed the journalists of that newspaper to take notes and photographs, but requested that they not publish them until after 10 days. The meeting was arranged by Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, one of the best known figures of the Croatian opposition. SLOBODNI TJEDNIK noted that Raskovic agreed to the Serbs handing in their weapons, but that in return, Knin should get back its Communal Secretariat for Internal Affairs. He is also reported to have said that his associates Milan Babic and Dusan Zelenbaba have turned somewhat to the right.

A special place in SLOBODNI TJEDNIK story is taken by Raskovic's views on Slobodan Milosevic: that the two of them cannot suffer each other because Milosevic allegedly fears the growing Raskovic's popularity. The climax is Raskovic's statement that Milosevic is a tyrant, and so on and so forth.

Academician Jovan Raskovic, through his associates, denied all this today. First: The meeting between him and Boljkovac did occur, but in a quite different way. In Zagreb, Raskovic met Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, who had earlier offered to be a mediator in the talks with Tudjman. In the evening, Raskovic and Cicak went for dinner to the restaurant mentioned. Afterwards, whether by accident or on purpose, Boljkovac arrived there with his entourage.

Raskovic said that the talks were informal and that two-thirds of what SLOBODNI TJEDNIK said was not true. Raskovic stresses that he did not say a single word about Milosevic. Raskovic believes that obviously somebody wanted to discredit him and to give him the follow-up punch after the transcript of the talks with Tudjman. It was all a frame-up, from Boljkovac arriving by chance, to the alleged statements about Milosevic.

The Croatian authorities want to demean me, to first make me quarrel with Milosevic and the Serbian authorities, and then to cause a split within the Serbian Democratic Party.

We learn that Raskovic sent a letter to VECERNJE NOVOSTI, which will be published tomorrow, in which he denies any statements on Milosevic. One will know in the next few days what will happen next. The session of the main committee of the Serbian Democratic Party is to be held. [passage omitted]

Croatia's Mesic Interviewed on Referendum, Unrest

AU3008092890 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 90 pp 10-12

[Report on interview with Stipe Mesic, president of the Croatian Executive Council, by Jelena Lovric in Zagreb on 17 August: "We Knew Everything"]

[Text] Late on that dramatic Friday night [17 August], special units had already been deployed around the Assembly building in which only the lights in the republican prime minister's rooms on the second floor were lit. Everything else was dark and peaceful. Here was a kind

of a crisis center in which—and we arrived at the time when President Tudjman was on the television, calling on the citizens of Croatia to remain calm and dignified—there was not a bit of nervousness. Croatia is going through one of the most dramatic times of the last few years, the decision on whether the recently increasingly frequent threats will become reality is being made over its head, and here, in an almost relaxed atmosphere, the leaders of the new government were discussing the events of the last few hours when everything was uncertain. Is it the failure to comprehend the seriousness of the situation or the feeling of relief which always follows tension? It was now becoming clear that the peak of the drama had just been successfully passed.

While we were waiting for the just agreed upon interview with Prime Minister Stipe Mesic, who had been the only one to find time and self-assurance to speak to the press, we noticed some signs in the reports coming from the field that the tension was being released. The situation was beginning to calm down. Threats were being withdrawn. The headquarters from which strings of aggression against Croatia had been pulled was signaling the release of tension. This could be seen in agitated and hurried messages by the previously self-assured new local leaders of the antibureaucratic revolution; they had been refusing not only cooperation, but even talks with the Croatian authorities, and were now hurriedly denying that they had proclaimed a state of war. The Army demanded that the claim about the MiG planes intercepting helicopters be denied. They were saying that the flight control was to blame. We were told about the talks between Minister of Police Josip Boljkovac and Federal Minister Petar Gracanin. Claiming that the location from which everything is coming is known, Boljkovac openly demanded that those people who launched the attack stop it now or else they would be held responsible for the conflict between those people whom they have sent and those who will stand up to defend Croatia. Several hours later, Boljkovac came here, and, in his loud and picturesque way, laughing a lot, told us that Gracanin had let it slip then that Milosevic had already ordered people from Serbia, Vojvodina, Kosovo, and Bosnia not to go to Croatia. This is why that evening's Chetnik celebration held in Nova Pazova, from where a caravan of buses was to have set off to help brothers in Croatia, gave out even before it had started and instead of being in Knin, ended up in Belgrade from where it had probably been sent.

At one moment, a song was heard from outside. Cheers were heard: Croatia, Croatia. A small group of about 30 or 50 people, their faces unrecognizable in the dark, were carrying a flag and making their way to the Assembly building with the obvious intention of expressing their support for the authorities. Were they coming as a confirmation of the statement that Mesic had made in the television evening newscast that Croatia could get to its feet within an hour to defend its sovereignty? Then the song stopped and the group started chanting: We want arms—a demand that was heard during recent months from some other sides and which now created unpleasant associations. Mesic asked the group to disperse in peace and they complied. We were then able to sit and talk. The prime minister inspected the guards deployed around some vital buildings in Zagreb. Nothing of that doubtlessly dramatic time when he had to make some important, crucial decisions could be seen in his countenance. He was in a good mood; calm, and optimism even then.

[Lovric] What can you say about everything that happened in Croatia today? Although the uncertainty is calming down, it seems that the situation is still extremely worrying.

[Mesic] It is not worrying. In fact, the situation is good. It is just that some things have now come out in the open and are being made public. The authors of that scenario have shown their scenario in public. We have always claimed it existed because it has always been evident. The pressures from outside were meant to persuade the Serbs in Croatia that they are in a subordinate position and that they should protest. The Serbs did not respond, the only reaction elicited was from rabble-rousers who were directly connected to the authors of the scenario. We do not know whether they are paid or are simply fanatics. Therefore, what happened is only what we had announced: The great scenarists used their pawns and tried to make noise in Croatia.

[Lovric] You are reducing everything that is happening now in Croatia to a noise?

[Mesic] Yes, this is only noise.

[Lovric] You do not have the impression that this noise conceals some fears and desires of people who think differently than the republic's leadership?

[Mesic] The leadership of Croatia is quite aware of the situation. We are aware that the creators of the antibureaucratic revolution have brought things to a head. They no longer have any way out. They can do nothing. They promised everything but did nothing. Once they had brought the situation in Kosovo to the boiling point, to the point of explosion, they had to find a way out elsewhere. Knin was the safety valve. The mass fanatical uprising was to have forced us into unreasonable behavior, to a physical clash between the constabulary of the Croatian state and these rabble-rousers, so that someone would possibly even die in this uproar, thereby producing an alibi for intervention in Croatia. In this case, the world would have looked at Croatia and forgotten Kosovo. This way the state terror being exercised in Kosovo and the fact that democracy is not being introduced would not be seen. Because there is no solution in Kosovo without negotiations, they threw their hot potato into Croatia. We will use our strength and calmness and the possibility of responding to all provocation with instruments of a rule-of-law state to force them to stew in their own juice.

[Lovric] Do you really think that you are in control of the situation to this extent and that you have such support that you can so easily counter Milosevic's scenario, which has been obvious for so long?

[Mesic] We believe in both the Croatian people and the Serbian people in Croatia. We believe that they are reasonable and do not want any excesses or clashes. Both peoples want a peaceful life. The democratic authorities can make this possible for them. Not only can they do this but they will even ensure it. The rabble-rousers are being unmasked. Now that we have shown our strength, denials have been raining down one after the other. You see that suddenly nothing is the way they claimed it was before. Everything has suddenly changed.

[Lovric] Do you not think that some of the authorities' actions have played into the hands of the great scenarists? You said, for example, that the only way out for Kosovo is in negotiations. Have you insisted enough that negotiations be held here with representatives of the Serbian people?

[Mesic] Definitely. We have opened the door wide. We have invited everyone for talks. However, those who are in the service of the great scenarists do not want to negotiate. You see that they did not want to come to the Assembly when we invited them. They went to Jovic. However, that was their big mistake. A waste of time. Why negotiate with Jovic? They should have immediately gone to Milosevic. He is the one who has cooked all this up. He is behind everything because there is no way out. This is his last chance. If he does not succeed now—he has to fail.

[Lovric] Has he not won quite a lot already?

[Mesic] He has won nothing. Everything he has built up is collapsing. He has nothing in Kosovo. He is losing everything in Vojvodina and everything in Serbia is slipping out of his control. He is now grabbing for Croatia in panic.

[Lovric] When the representatives of the Serbian people were invited to the Assembly, those who came were spoken to as if they were to blame for everything that has been happening, at least that is the way it was publicly presented.

[Mesic] We talked to those who came as citizens of Croatia because we do not differentiate between Serbs or Croats. However, I do not know who is represented by those who went to Jovic, not the Serbian people in any case because the Serbian Democratic Party is not the sole representative of the Serbian people. Their representative is the one who is elected at elections and, according to all democratic traditions, those in the Assembly represent those who elected them. Just as the Croatian Democratic Community is not the representative of the Croatian people. The representatives of the Croatian people are those who they have elected to the Assembly.

[Lovric] Was it not logical for someone from the Croatian authorities to go to the places where there were problems to try to calm the situation that was reaching the boiling point?

[Mesic] I went wherever I was called. If the leadership of the Knin commune wants to talk then they must invite me first. I invited them to the Assembly but they did not come. After all, Boljkovac went but he could not speak because the rabble-rousers prevented him from speaking. Do they think that we have to bow down to them? They are citizens like all the rest. According to what logic, would the Croatian people and their representatives have to constantly walk on their knees before the Serbs? Should the legitimate authorities of this republic beg the Knin president, Babic, to do something? However, he can in fact do nothing because he does not even represent anything. Milosevic is our negotiating partner.

[Lovric] If you are so sure of the majority support of Serbs, why then are you not allowing their referendum?

[Mesic] What kind of logic is it that only Serbs vote and not Croats. This is insulting to Croats. It is as if there are no Croats in Knin, Benkovac, and Obrovac. What reasonable and well-intentioned person could organize the referendum without asking one single Croat anything? Are the Serbs some kind of specially privileged chosen people? After all, no one even knows what this referendum is asking? As representatives of the authorities, we have not received one single demand from the Serbian side which would show what they actually want. We have not received one single document, an explanation of why they are dissatisfied. No one from that side has sent this government any act on which it should make a decision. They claim that we have left the Serbs out of the Constitution but these constitutional provisions have not been changed at all. In the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, Serbs are mentioned in a way that they are not mentioned in any other republican constitution or in the way that other peoples are mentioned. The Constitution guarantees them cultural autonomy, the right to their language, to Cyrillic. What then should we be negotiating on? We are talking about Croats continuing to be second-class citizens and the Serbs having all the privileges. We want a society in which no one is privileged. Why would the Serbs have privileges? This situation offends them as well.

[Lovric] Do you think that this is in fact a conflict over privileges?

[Mesic] Of course. Those who had privileges think that they are losing something, but not something to do with equality but privilege. Serbs who do not live off privileges but live off their labor, effort, knowledge, and intelligence are not part of these processes.

[Lovric] Do you not think that the recent frequently exaggerated stress on Croatianism could not have created insecurity among those who are not Croats?

[Mesic] Yes, Croatianism has been somewhat more promoted recently but this has also been the case with Serbianism, Slovenism, Muslimism, Albanianism, and so forth. This national consciousness has been liberated in all republics and in all peoples so, in that sense, there have been some excesses. However, this emphasis has not come from the Croatian authorities. This will die down in time. However, those who were not bothered by the fact that Chetnik hordes have been traveling around Yugoslavia for months are now bothered when a Croat puts on his own flag the old Croatian coat of arms which has, after all, been an official symbol up to now too, but has been framed by a sheaf of wheat, well-known from Soviet heraldry, which we have now taken away. We have been criticized for playing into the hands of those who want to upset the people because of the speed with which we changed the state symbols. But this was not all that quick: It was nine centuries before the Croats acquired their own symbols. It could not be said that that was done at great speed.

[Lovric] The Belgrade press, which greatly determines the mood in the Serbian regions of Croatia, has recently written a lot about an ethnically pure Croatian guard, about special forces from abroad, about their vast cost. This could create fear.

[Mesic] Let us start at the beginning. There is no guard. The proposal to set one up came from a professor who has absolutely nothing to do with the authorities. Rumors about calling in some special forces from abroad, supposedly from Germany, are also quite untrue. Where would they be anyway? We have only supplemented police units with a certain number of new people. I have read in the Belgrade press that we have been investigating their origins back to the third generation. This is total idiocy or insinuation. We organized the application procedure in communes and people applied as normal. True, most of them are Croats but this was not the criterion according to which we selected them. However, this is now a problem, but it was not a problem when 60 percent of the police in Croatia were Serbs. Now we are being called to account when, for the sake of equality, we have gradually been trying to change this unsuitable structure, particularly since not one single policeman has been deprived of a job. We have not dismissed Serbs in order to employ Croats. We are only filling in what is lacking.

[Lovric] The role that the Army has played at these dramatic moments in Croatia is quite unclear.

[Mesic] Someone has obviously wanted to provoke the Army. However, to judge by the latest reports it seems that this has not been successful. The Army realized that this is not their business. I talked with General Adzic and asked him not to allow the Army to get involved in this. He told me that MiG's had stopped our helicopters, which had been flying to help our police stations in Knin, and, in his interpretation, this was because they did not have the correct flight plans. They probably would have let them through had they been going toward Kranj. But, joking aside, I now hear that we are being asked to deny that MiG's stopped us, and it is being claimed that this was air traffic control. Very strange, but this is not difficult to establish either.

[Lovric] You also had talks with representatives of the federal Presidency and government.

[Mesic] I had talks with Zivko Pregl who was standing in for an absent Markovic. He asked me to brief him on everything that I had found out. He told me categorically that he did not know that the Army had intervened anywhere. We asked for Kadijevic but they could not find him anywhere either.

[Lovric] As head of government, do you know whether a scenario exists according to which Yugoslavia should be established on new foundations which recall the Cvetkovic-Macek agreement?

[Mesic] Well, not in that sense. We must reach an agreement between all Yugoslav peoples because if Slovenes are dissatisfied, as well as Croats, Serbs, Albanians, Macedonians, and everyone else, the only way is to sit around a discussion table to see why this is so. This means that the model according to which we have lived is not right. Why then be slave to it? Let us work toward creating a new one with which everyone will be happy.

[Lovric] Much has been said recently about a secret meeting between Tudjman and Milosevic. Do you know anything about that?

[Mesic] I have not heard about this meeting and I do not think that Tudjman has either. We are preparing to hold talks with the leadership of Serbia as we will have with the other republican leaderships. We have suggested this to them. When this happens, this delegation will probably include Milosevic too.

[Lovric] How do you treat the state Presidency in these talks? Only as a necessary evil or as a body which can nevertheless coordinate the general political situation?

[Mesic] The Yugoslav Presidency has demonstrated quite a lot of impotence, mostly in Kosovo where there is practically martial law on the basis of some document from headquarters which has never even existed. It is clear that state terror is being exercised in Kosovo and the Presidency is doing nothing about it. Dozens of people have been killed and we still have not heard that anyone has taken responsibility for this.

[Lovric] At this moment, it seems that the situation in Croatia is calming down. However, do you think that the scenarists which we were discussing at the beginning will abandon their intentions?

[Mesic] They will abandon this attempt because it has not succeeded now. However, they will think up something else, only I do not know whether they will have time.

[Lovric] When do you think that these excess situations will come to an end?

[Mesic] After democratic elections in Serbia.

[Lovric] Should one therefore prepare oneself for another few months of this uproar. What happens if the scenarist Milosevic wins the elections?

[Mesic] If he wins then the Serbian people probably deserve such a president. As far as we are concerned, we will negotiate with anyone who is elected.

[Lovric] What will happen if voluntary units really are set up in Serbia to go to Croatia? Because it should not be forgotten that media indoctrination in the east of the country has created the mass belief that the Ustashas govern Croatia and that Serbian brothers should be saved.

[Mesic] There are no such units and there will not be any either. These are stories for small children. I do not actually know what they have in mind there but I am sure that they will not come here. Do not worry. After all, we have at our disposal the means which will ensure peaceful dreams for Croats and Serbs and all citizens of Croatia.

[Lovric] Does the presence of special forces in protecting some premises and institutions in Zagreb mean that a state of emergency has been introduced in Croatia?

[Mesic] This is not a state of emergency. We are only a little more alert so that nothing will surprise us. I do not share the view that this strong security could cause disquiet among people. Disquiet could arise among the population if they were to see that we are not prepared or that we cannot resist aggression. This is the way to make people feel secure.

[Lovric] You said in a television statement that you could get Croatia to its feet within one hour.

[Mesic] I am quite sure of that. If Croatia is in question, then everyone will defend it regardless of what party they belong to. The recent democratic elections clearly showed that Croatia is the first criterion for everyone.

Midnight had long gone when we finished this interview. It was Saturday. What would the next day bring for Croatia? Prime Minister Mesic was quite calm. And self-assured. He said that it was time to go to bed. Only then did the colorful crowd disperse which had gathered either because of duty or because of the need to express their own feelings on this dramatic night when Croatia found itself in mortal danger.

'Independent' Montenegrin Communist Party Set Up

LD3008160190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1248 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Titograd, 30 Aug (TANJUG)—Dissatisfied with the method of work and policies of the Montenegrin League of Communists [LC] Central Committee, and with its Presidium, a group of LC members in Cetinje has founded an independent organization of communists.

The Independent Organization of Communists of Cetinje [Nezavisna Organizacija Komunista Cetinja] will not recognize the existing central committee, its leadership, or any supervision by the party.

The reasons for founding this independent organization of communists should be sought, it was stressed at its founding session, in the fact that the present leadership of the Montenegrin Communists is incapable of leading a modern political party, and the consequences of this incompetence are inevitably reflected in the economic and political life of Montenegro. The session stressed that by their noninstitutional politics, working in cahoots with extremist forces which have no connection whatsoever with communist ideas and policy, by a policy whose basic characteristics are intolerance, political revanchism, and so forth, and by their careerism, the present leadership of the Montenegrin communists have organization in Montenegro and driving a considerable section of left-wing oriented cadres away from the LC.

The members of the newly formed Independent Organization of Communists of Cetinje recalled that the Montenegrin leadership has done nothing for the economic revival of the republic, although they previously claimed that they have complete programs for resolving the serious economic situation in the republic.

Turkish, Romany Parties Founded in Macedonia

AU3008161390 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 90 p 20

[M. Krstic report: "New Nationalist Parties Springing Up"]

[Excerpt] Skopje, 15 Aug—Over this hot summer, a new political party, usually with ethnic, national foundations, has been founded on the Macedonian political pluralist scene almost every 10 days.

The Turkish Party [Turska Stranka] was recently set up in Skopje and rallies together members of the small Turkish nationality in Macedonia. This was followed by the Young Democratic-Progressive Party [Mlada Demokratska-Progresivna Stranka] of the now former youth leader Risto Ivanov. Last week, Skopje Romanies set up their own "autochthonous" Romany Party [Romska Partija]. As its president, Faik Abdi states, this party will particularly be concerned with the protection of the national and cultural identity of the Romanies in Macedonia. It has also been learned that Romanies will get their own "program" on Skopje Television in the next few days. This will be the first time that Romanies in Yugoslavia are in direct communication through the television and radio. It has also been announced that a Romany newspaper will also be printed in Macedonia.

Faik Abdi, president of the Romany Party in Macedonia, has already publicly condemned all those Romanies who have proclaimed themselves to be Turks, Albanians, or Egyptians, stressing that the leadership of this party will also raise the issue of Romanies presenting themselves as a nationality from now on and not as an ethnic group as has traditionally been the case. [passage omitted]

SFRY Constitutional Amendments Published

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["Text" of "the Amendments to the SFRY Constitution" adopted by the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade on 8 August]

[Text] These amendments are an integral part of the SFRY Constitution and they come into force on the day of their promulgation.

Amendment XLIX
Sections II through X, except Paragraph 17 of Section III, of the Basic Principles of the SFRY Constitution shall cease to have effect.

Amendment L
1. All forms of ownership are guaranteed.
All the forms of ownership are equal.
Ownership rights may be enjoyed by private and juristic persons.
In conformity with this constitution, the performance of economic and other activities with the means under all forms of ownership is free.

2. Ownership rights and obligations toward socially owned means, and the conditions under which other forms of ownership may be attained over these means, are regulated by federal law.
Powers and obligations concerning means under state ownership are regulated by law.
Natural resources and assets in general use are under social or state ownership.
The right of exploitation may be acquired over natural resources and assets in general use, under the conditions determined by law.
Assets in the economic infrastructure may be held under all forms of ownership, under the conditions determined by federal law.

3. Citizens are guaranteed ownership of agricultural land.

4. An alien may acquire rights of ownership of real estate under the conditions determined by federal law.

5. Sections 1, 2, and 3 replace Article 10, Article 12 Paragraphs 1 and 2, Article 13 Paragraph 2, and Article 80 Paragraph 3 of the SFRY Constitution and Section 2 of Amendment XXIII; Section 3 supplements Amendment XV to the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment LI
1. Ownership and work are the basis of management and participation in decisionmaking.
Workers have the right to self-management on the basis of the law, collective agreements, and statutes.

2. This amendment replaces Article 11; Article 13 Paragraph 1; Article 14 Paragraph 1 and 3; Articles 17, 20, 21, and 22 of the SFRY Constitution; and Section 2, Section 3 Paragraphs 1 and 2, Section 5 Paragraph 1; Section 6 Paragraph 2; and Section 7 of Amendment X to the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment LII
1. A workers council, or another corresponding organ, is set up in an enterprise that operates with social capital.
The management and participation in decisionmaking in enterprises working with means under social forms of ownership are regulated in accordance with the law.
The management and participation in decisionmaking in institutions and other organizations are regulated by law.
The statute of an enterprise regulates the powers, composition, the manner of election, and the manner of decisionmaking of a workers council or another corresponding organ, in accordance with the law.
Managing organs are appointed in economic and other organizations, in accordance with the law.
This amendment replaces Amendment XXIV of the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment LIII
The provisions of Article 30 Paragraphs 2, 4, and 5; Articles 41, 45, 46, and 60; Article 61 Paragraph 2; Article 104 Paragraphs 1, 3, and 4; Articles 129 and 130; and Article 194 Paragraph 3 of the SFRY Constitution; and of Section 12 of Amendment X; and Section 2 Paragraph 2 of Amendment XI to the SFRY Constitution shall cease to have effect.

Amendment LIV
1. The economic and other organizations decide independently on their development planning.
The law may determine the obligation of the organizations performing activities or conducting affairs of special social interest to plan their development.
The organizations that perform activities within unified technological systems of interest to the entire country plan their joint development.
The SFRY determines a joint development and economic policy and with it guides the economic and social development in conformity with common interests.

2. This amendment replaces Amendment XVII and Amendment XXXIII of the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment LV
1. The funds for the implementation of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the law and of the determined needs and interests of society in the fields of education, science, culture, social protection, social security, and other fields determined by the Constitution and the law are provided by the budgets of sociopolitical communities, by social funds, or are in other ways determined by the law.

The funds for the implementation of the entitlements in health, disability, pension, and other forms of social insurance are provided on the principles of mutuality and solidarity in accordance with the law.
Citizens and economic and other subjects have the right of free organization for the purpose of satisfying their personal or common needs and of providing funds for their satisfaction.

2. This amendment replaces Amendment XVI to the SFRY Constitution, and the provisions of Articles 110 through 113, and Article 165 Paragraph 2 of the SFRY Constitution shall cease to have effect.

Amendment LVI
1. The control over the legality of the disposition of juristic persons' resources and the correctness of the data on the disposition of these resources, the financial audit of public expenditure, the provision of financial reports on the business operations of juristic persons, the checking of the returns and the payments of taxes, contributions, and other dues, as well as other business defined by federal law are performed by services or organs, whose position, functioning, and basic organization are regulated by federal law.

2. This amendment replaces Article 77 Paragraphs 2, 3, and 4 of the SFRY Constitution; Section 2 of Amendment XVIII; Section 3 of Amendment XXXI, and Section 1 Subsection 8 of Amendment XXXIX to the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment LVII
1. The citizens are the holders of authority which they exercise through their representatives in the assemblies of the sociopolitical communities, through referendums, at meetings, and through other forms of personal expression.

2. This amendment replaces Articles 88 through 91 of the SFRY Constitution, and the provisions of Amendment I and Section 1 Paragraph 2 and Section 2 of Amendment II to the SFRY Constitution shall cease to have effect.

Amendment LVIII
1. The composition, organization, and powers of the assemblies and other organs of sociopolitical communities are regulated by the Constitution or the statute and the law.

2. The citizens elect their representatives to the assemblies of the sociopolitical communities by direct and secret vote.
The candidates for representatives to the assemblies of sociopolitical communities are proposed and nominated by the citizens, political organizations, and other forms of organization and association in the way prescribed by the law.
The nomination procedure for the election of representatives to the assemblies of sociopolitical communities is regulated in such a way that a free expression of the will of the citizens is ensured in proposing and nominating the candidates.

3. The election and recall of representatives to the assemblies of sociopolitical communities is conducted according to the procedure determined by the law.

4. The term of office of the representatives to the assemblies of sociopolitical communities is four years.
Exceptionally, the term of office of the representatives to the assemblies of sociopolitical communities may be extended or contracted according to the Constitution.

5. The office of a representative to the assembly of a sociopolitical community is incompatible with the offices in the organs of the same sociopolitical communities determined by the law.

6. A sociopolitical community sets up an executive organ.

7. Section 1 replaces Articles 132, 144, and 145; Section 2 replaces Articles 135 through 138; Section 3 replaces Article 142; Section 4 replaces Article 134; Section 5 replaces Article 140; Section 6 replaces Article 148; and the provisions of Article 141 of the SFRY Constitution and of Amendment XXVI to the SFRY Constitution shall cease to have effect.

Amendment LIX
The provisions of Article 147 of the SFRY Constitution shall cease to have effect.

Amendment LX
1. Citizens are equal in their rights and obligations regardless of their ethnicity, race, sex, language, religion, political or other persuasion, social origin, birth, education, social position, or any other personal characteristic.

2. Nobody may be subjected to torture or cruel, inhumane, or humiliating punishment or acts.
It is forbidden to perform medical or other scientific experiments on any person without his consent.

3. Personal privacy is inviolable.

4. Only the law may stipulate that it is possible, and only on the basis of a court's decision, to deviate from the principle of inviolability of the secrecy of letters and other means of communication if this is indispensable for the conduct of a criminal procedure or for the country's security.

5. The freedom of conscience and practicing religion is guaranteed.
Religious communities may engage in business and other activities under the conditions determined by law.
Religious communities cannot form political organizations.

6. The confidentiality of personal data is guaranteed.
The collection, processing, and the purpose of using personal data is regulated by law.

The use of personal data contrary to the purpose of its collection is forbidden.

7. The freedom of political organization and activities is guaranteed.
Political organization and activities are forbidden if they are aimed at: forcefully changing the constitutionally determined system, endangering the independence of the country and the territorial integrity of the SFRY and the republics, violating the freedoms and rights of man and citizens guaranteed by this Constitution, or stirring up national, racial, and religious hatred and intolerance.
The manner of implementing the freedom of political organization and activities is regulated by law.

8. The freedom of trade union organization and activities is guaranteed.

9. Everybody has the right to earnings on the basis of his work in accordance with the law and collective agreements.

10. The right of workers to social insurance as determined by the Constitution and the law is safeguarded by mandatory insurance, on the basis of mutuality and solidarity, in accordance with the law.

11. Tenancy entitlements may be given to apartments on social or state property under the conditions determined by law.

12. Section 1 replaces Article 154 Paragraph 1; Section 2 supplements Article 179; Section 3 supplements Article 185; Section 4 replaces Article 185 Section 2; Section 5 replaces the first sentence of Paragraph 1, deletes the word "only" in Paragraph 2, and supplements Article 174; Sections 6, 7, and 8 supplement Chapter III of the second part of the SFRY Constitution; Section 9 supplements Article 159 of the SFRY Constitution; Section 10 replaces Article 163 Paragraph 1; Section 11 replaces Article 164 Paragraph 1 of the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment LXI
1. The juridical function is performed by the regular courts as organs of state authority.
The regular courts are independent in the performance of their juridical functions and make judgments on the basis of the Constitution and laws.
If it is not expressed by the law that certain disputes should be resolved by the regular courts, the settling of disputes that arise from the parties' mutual relations which they regulate independently, or that arise from the rights which they freely possess, may be submitted by the parties involved to arbitration, to councils of reconciliation, to elected courts, or to other courts .
The authority, composition, and organization of arbitration, councils of reconciliation, elected or other courts, and the procedure before these courts and the method of electing and dismissing judges are determined by an act establishing such a court, in accordance with the law. Some types of courts for settling certain types of disputes may also be established by law.

2. The judges and citizens who participate in trials in the regular courts are elected and dismissed by the assembly of the sociopolitical community determined by the Constitution and the law.
Judges of the regular courts are elected for an indefinite term of office.

3. The Public Prosecutor's Office performs its function on the basis of the Constitution and the law.

4. Section 1 replaces Article 92 Paragraph 2, Articles 217 and 219, Articles 223 through 226; Section 2 replaces Article 230 Paragraphs 1, 3, and 4; Section 3 replaces Article 235 Paragraph 2 of the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment LXII
1. The National Bank of Yugoslavia is headed by the governor, who is accountable for his work and the work of the bank to the SFRY Assembly.
The National Bank of Yugoslavia forms the Board of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, as a consultative body, which is elected by the SFRY Assembly from the ranks of scholars and experts from all republics and autonomous provinces.

3. [number as published] This amendment replaces Article 263 Paragraph 3 of the SFRY Constitution and Section 6 of Amendment XXXV to the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment LXIII
1. The revenues of the federation consist of customs duties, taxes, and other revenues, which are determined by federal law as its original revenues.

2. This amendment replaces Article 279 Paragraph 2 of the SFRY Constitution and Section 2 of Amendment XXXVIII to the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment LXIV
1. The federation, via federal organs:
(1) regulates the basis of the taxation system—the sources, types, taxpayers, and the assessment bases of taxation, the types of tax rates, tax exemptions, and allowances—and determines the common foundations of the taxation policy;
(2) regulates the association of citizens in associations, social organizations, and political organizations that are founded on the territory of the SFRY;
(3) regulates the system of property and personal insurance;
(4) regulates the auditing of the business operations of enterprises, banks, and other juristic persons;
(5) regulates the law of the copyright and other related fields of the law.

2. Subsection (1) of this amendment replaces Article 264 Paragraphs 2 and 3, and Article 265 Paragraph 2 Section 2 of Amendment XXXI, and Section 1 Subsection (5) of Amendment XXXIX; Subsection (2) replaces the last sentence of Section 1 Subsection (1) of Amendment XXXIX to the SFRY Constitution; Subsection (3) replaces the following words of Article 281 Paragraph 1

Subsection (5) of the SFRY Constitution: "the foundations of the system of property and personal insurance;" Subsection (4) supplements Article 281 of the SFRY Constitution; and Subsection (5) replaces the following words of Article 281, Paragraph 1 Subsection 4: "the law of the copyright."

Amendment LXV

1. The Federal Chamber is composed of 30 deputies from each republic and 20 deputies from each autonomous province.

The deputies to the Federal Chamber are elected by the citizens in constituencies directly, through a general and secret vote.

The election and recall of the deputies to the Federal Chamber and the manner of setting up the constituencies are regulated by law.

This amendment replaces Section 1 of Amendment XL to the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment LXVI

1. The Federal Executive Council adopts measures for the realization of the established development and economic policy.

2. This amendment supplements Article 347 of the SFRY Constitution; and the provisions of Amendment V to the SFRY Constitution shall cease to have effect.

Amendment LXVII

1. The Chamber of Republics and Provinces, on the basis of the consent of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces:

(1) determines the development policy of Yugoslavia and the strategy of scientific and technological development;

(2) adopts federal laws which regulate relations concerning: the monetary system, the issue of money, the foreign exchange system, foreign trade and financial and other economic relations with other countries; the accumulation of domestic and foreign currency reserves and their use, when this is in the interest of the country as a whole; tariff and nontariff protection; the social control of the price of goods and services; credits and other forms of stimulating the faster development of economically underdeveloped republics and autonomous provinces; restrictions imposed on the market and the free flow of goods and services; the basis, forms, and methods of compensation; the taxation system; the obligatory amalgamation of business organizations which as unified technological systems perform activities in the spheres of electric power generation, railroad transportation, and postal-telephone-telegraph communications; the obligatory amalgamation of business and other organizations into communities and other forms of ties and cooperation in other spheres when the technological unity of the systems in these spheres is of interest for the country as a whole; and the system and sources of funds for financing the federation.

(3) determines the common foreign exchange and monetary policy and the common foundations of the taxation policy.

2. This amendment replaces Section 3 Subsections (2) and (3) of Amendment XL, and the following words of Section 3 Subsection (3) of Amendment XL are deleted: "and adopts federal laws which determine a special tax on the turnover of goods and services, other earmarked sources, and other taxes within the foundations of the tax system;" and the provisions of Section 2 of Amendment XL to the SFRY Constitution shall cease to have effect.

Amendment LXVIII

1. If the mandate of a member of the SFRY Presidency terminates before the expiration of the term for which he has been elected, he relinquishes his office on the day he is relieved of his duty by the Assembly of a republic or the assembly of an autonomous province. The newly elected member of the SFRY Presidency takes up his office on the day of the proclamation of his election in the SFRY Assembly.

2. Section 1 replaces Article 324 Paragraph 6 of the SFRY Constitution. The provisions of Article 324 Paragraph 4 of the SFRY Constitution and of Section 1 and Section 2 Paragraph 2 of Amendment XLIII to the SFRY Constitution, which determine the role of the Socialist Alliance of Working People in proposing the election and dismissal of members of the SFRY Presidency shall cease to have effect.

Amendment LXIX

The provisions of the following shall cease to have effect: Article 131 and Article 347; Article 285 Section 13, and Section 1 Paragraph 5 of Amendment II to the SFRY Constitution; and the words in Article 281 Paragraph 1 Subsection (3) "determines the principles on the status, rights, and duties of the public attorney of self-management" are deleted, and the words in Article 283 Section 9 and Article 288 Section 3 of the SFRY Constitution "appoints and dismisses the federal public attorney of self-management" are also deleted.

Amendment LXX

1. If responsible organs fail to carry out a federal law, some other regulation, or general act, or do not ensure their implementation, the federal organs of administration shall draw the attention of the appropriate republican or provincial organs of administration to this fact, and shall demand that appropriate measures which would ensure their implementation be undertaken within a specified period of time. The federal organs of administration shall at the same time inform the Federal Executive Council about this.

If even after the warning has been issued and measures have been taken, the implementation of the federal law or some other regulation or general act is still not ensured, the Federal Executive Council will directly ensure their implementation and at the same time inform the SFRY Assembly about it.

2. This amendment replaces Section 3 of Amendment XXXVII to the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment LXXI

1. The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia decides whether a statute or other general act of a political organization, social organization, and citizens' association is in conformity with the SFRY Constitution, or whether it contradicts the federal law.

2. This amendment supplements Article 375 of the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment LXXII

1. In Article 267 items 2, 3, and 4 of the SFRY Constitution, following the words "self-managing interest communities," a comma and the word "funds" shall be added; and in Items 2 and 3 the word "social" (in different grammatical cases) is deleted.

In Paragraphs 2 and 4 of Amendment XXXII to the SFRY Constitution, the words "to the benefit of a self-managing interest community or other forms of self-managing organizing" are replaced with the words "to the benefit of a fund or other forms of organizing."

2. In Article 97 Paragraph 1, Article 116 Paragraph 4, and Article 326 the words "sociopolitical organizations" are replaced with the words "political and social organizations" (in the appropriate grammatical case); in Article 124 Paragraph 1 the words "trade unions and other sociopolitical organizations" are replaced with the words "trade unions, political organizations;" in Article 244 Paragraph 2 Item 5 of the SFRY Constitution the words "sociopolitical and other social organizations" are replaced with the words "trade unions, political organizations, and social organizations."

3. In the text of the SFRY Constitution, the word "delegate" when it refers to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly (in various grammatical cases) shall be replaced by the word "deputy" [poslanik] (in the appropriate grammatical case).

4. In Article 143, the words "adopts the social plan" shall be replaced with the words "determines the development policy and adopts;" in Article 281 Paragraph 1 Section 5, the words "regulates the foundations of the system of social planning and determines the social plan" shall be replaced by the words "regulates the foundations of the planning system and determines the development policy;" in Article 283 Section 3, the words "adopts the social plan of Yugoslavia" shall be replaced by the words "determines the development policy of Yugoslavia and adopts;" in Article 347 Subsection 3 of the SFRY Constitution, the words "social plan" shall be replaced by the words "development policy;" in Section 1 Item 3 of Amendment XXXI the words, "determined by the social plan of Yugoslavia" shall be deleted; in Section 3 of Amendment XL of the SFRY Constitution, the words "for the period for which a medium-term social plan is adopted" shall be replaced by the words "for the period for which the development policy is determined."

Amendment LXXIII

A constitutional law shall be passed to implement Amendments LXIX to LXXII of the SFRY Constitution.

A draft constitutional law is adopted in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly if two-thirds of all delegates in this chamber vote in favor of it.

The constitutional law is adopted when the text adopted by the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly is approved by the assemblies of all the republics and autonomous provinces.

The constitutional law is promulgated and comes into force together with Amendments XLIX to LXXIII to the SFRY Constitution.